

N. 13. 77
French COUNSELS

DESTRUCTIVE TO

G R E A T - B R I T A I N ;

O R

SEASONABLE ADVICE

T O

Sir *R*— *W*—,

In the present

CRITICAL CONJUNCTURE.

I N

SEVEN LETTERS.

By *C A L E B D' A N V E R S*, Esq;

L O N D O N :

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INTRODUCTION.



If there ever was a Collection which stood in no Need of any Recommendation to the Publick, but what its own intrisick Worth and Usefulness would supply, we have all the Reason in the World to put the following one in that Light.

The Author of these Letters has thought proper to address them to a Person of high Distinction and Eminence; whose great Abilities, and uncorrupt Administration; whose thorough Knowledge of foreign Affairs, and the true Interest of Britain, for a long Term of Years have been so fully manifested in a Conduct wholly consistent with these; and which has well answer'd the rais'd Expectation of a People, whose important Affairs have been committed chiefly to his Direction, that they have the Happiness not only to find their Country, at present, in the most flourishing Condition; but of a Prospect, if they should be much longer blessed with his Management, that Posterity may feel the Effects of it, for many Generations to come.

Tho'

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Tho' how exalted and deserving soever the Person might be to whom they were directed, the Subject they treat of, must certainly be looked upon to be of much greater Importance, to the Welfare and Honour of these Kingdoms, than its possible to suppose any single Minister will ever be thought, when we once become so unfortunate as to be deprived of HIM, to whom we are so greatly indebted for the present Prosperity of his Country.

The following Sheets disclose the True Briton, in every Period, warm in the Cause of Liberty, and the People; aiming at our national Establishment and Glory; to revive our Trade, vindicate our injur'd Rights, and raise Great-Britain to its ancient Splendor, so as to enable us for ever to support that Weight and Influence, which through all past Ages distinguish'd our publick Counsels, in all the Courts of Europe. Here France is painted in her true Colours; her Cabinet of Secrets laid open; and the Designs, and Artifices of her M—— to carry the exorbitant Schemes he has projected, to encrease the Trade, and enlarge the Dominions and Power of that Kingdom, into Execution, are here so unravelled and so thoroughly expos'd, that unless we are obstinately blind to our own Interest, and determin'd

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determin'd upon Ruin, will certainly open our Eyes, and alarm us to a provident Care in time, that it shall never be in the Power of our Enemies to make us wear the Chains, which with so much Secrecy and Art they have been forging upon us.

Those who would be fully inform'd of the present State of the Nation; what really is its true Interest; and what are the best, most probable Means to pursue and attain it in the present hazardous Conjuncture, will find the important Point, we dare answer for it, clear'd up in these Sheets, in the most satisfactory Manner, that they could possibly expect or desire.

Those who would acquaint themselves with the Views and different Interests of the principal Courts of Europe; and in what Manner they interfere or coincide with those of their own Country, may here attain that Knowledge from a Gentleman, universally allow'd to have so thoroughly understood these, that if his publick Employ had been equal to his Acquirements and Abilities, he would have been distinguish'd in that List of Statesmen, which our British Annals do the most Honour to.

'Tis

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'Tis needless to say more; the following Work will say enough: If his Directions are attended to, we may yet be a happy People; courted and fear'd; if not, ten thousand to one, but we repent, and are d——.



LETTER



LETTERS

To the Right Honourable

Sir R—— W——, &c. &c.

LETTER I.

S I R,



HAVING promised the Publick a System of Politicks, or rather a *Plan of Operations*, for rescuing the Nation from the Difficulties and Danger into which the Ingratitude and Perfidy of *France* and *Spain* have plunged Her, I most humbly beg your Patronage of so honest and necessary a Work. I am still untinctured with Party-Prejudices, I am altogether unbiass'd by popular Clamour, I am quite averse to Misrepresentations, and disdain any ungene-

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rous Means to distress You; wherefore, as I wish You no Harm, I hope I shall give You no Offence, in speaking with that Freedom which is attach'd to the Birth-Right of a *Briton*, when accompany'd with Duty to his King and Country, and a becoming Respect to their Minister.

I wish, with all my Soul, Sir, that the *Convention* had been *such* as to have deserved universal Approbation; but in my humble Opinion, Mr. *Keene* deserves Censure for the *Preamble* to it. We were COMPLAINANTS, we were DEMANDERS of *Satisfaction* for the *atrocest Affronts*, the *greatest Injuries* that, perhaps, any one independant Nation had ever received from another; and after fruitless Treaties, after numerous, tedious Negotiations to no Purpose, We *arm'd* at a vast Expence to obtain that *Satisfaction* for the *numberless Robberies* committed upon *Us* by the *Spaniards*, which had been so long and so insolently denied to our *Solicitations* and *Entreaties*; We *arm'd*, I say, to *obtain that Satisfaction*, and to *vindicate the Honour* of our *INSULTED Country*, and therefore the *Preamble* to the *Convention* ought to have been couch'd in a *Stile* suitable to the *Occasion*, instead of obliquely giving the *Lye*, in the Face of all *Europe*, to the *Resolutions* of both Houses of Parliament, and their respective Addresses to our Sovereign. — “Whereas, says the *Preamble*, *Differences* have arisen between the
 “two Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, on
 “Account of the *Visiting*, *Searching*, and
 “*Taking* of *Vessels*, the *Seizing* of *Effects*,
 “the *Regulating* of *Limits*, and OTHER
 “GRIEVANCES

" GRIEVANCES *alledged* ON EACH SIDE, as
 " well in the *West-Indies* as ELSEWHERE, &c." Here, Sir, permit Me to observe, that *Differences* is a very soft, a very tender Word, indeed, for *Plunders, Robberies, Imprisonments* and *Murders*. Permit me likewise to observe further, that the *Searching and Taking of Vessels, and the Seizing of Effects*, seem to have been but the Consequences of VISITING, as the Word is placed in the Preamble, and the FINDING *contraband Goods on board*. This at first Sight disculp the *Spaniards*, throws all the Fault upon *Britons*, makes *Us* guilty of carrying on an *illicit Trade*, and gives the World to understand, that We have been unjust, both in our Complaints and our Conduct. The Words, " and other Grievances *alledged on each Side* as well in the *West-Indies*, as *elsewhere, &c.*" I apprehend too are very far from being to our Advantage; *on each Side*, may be construed that Damages were equal on both Sides; that the *Spaniards* had as good a Right to complain of Injuries, and demand Satisfaction, as We had; and, consequently, that the Noise We made about our Losses was a Clamour as unjustifiable as our Trade was illicit. If so, Sir, what becomes of the *Resolutions* and *Addresses* of the Legislature, and his Majesty's most gracious and heroick Answers to Them? *Regulating of Limits* and *elsewhere*, are also Words of a large Extent; they prognosticate no great Success to *Us* in a future Treaty, and may as well squint at *Port-Mahon, Gibraltar* and *Jamaica*, as at *Georgia*. I may, perhaps,

be singular in my Opinion; I wish I may be so; but had I been in Mr. Keene's Place, I would as soon have parted with my Right-hand, as have sign'd such a Preamble; or, indeed, any Preamble that was not to the following Purport.

“ Whereas the Governors of the *Havanna*,
 “ *Porto-Rico*, and other Places in the *Spanish*
 “ *West-Indies*, have, contrary to the Intentions
 “ of his *Catholick* Majesty, and in Violation of
 “ the Treaties subsisting between the two
 “ Crowns of *Great-Britain and Spain*, com-
 “ mission'd *Guarda Costas* to cruize on all *British*
 “ *Ships* sailing to and from *Great-Britain* and
 “ her *American Colonies*; and whereas the said
 “ *Guarda Costas* have, contrary to the above
 “ Treaties and the Law of Nations, seized and
 “ made Prize of several *British Ships* on the
 “ *high Seas*, and also treated the Commanders
 “ and Crews of the said *Ships* with a Barbarity
 “ never before practis'd among civilized Na-
 “ tions, nor ever known amongst the most
 “ cruel Barbarians, to the great Damage of the
 “ *Merchants* of *Great-Britain*, to the Stagnation
 “ of their Trade, and to the high Dishonour of
 “ the *British Nation*. And whereas the King
 “ of *Great-Britain*, through his paternal Af-
 “ fection to his Subjects, and the Protection He
 “ owes Them, by his Kingly Office, and from
 “ a just Regard to his own personal Honour and
 “ the Dignity of his Crown, has caused the
 “ manifold *Depredations, Plunders, Murders,*
 “ *Imprisonments*, and other Cruelties, Barbari-
 “ ties, and Injustices committed by the *Spanish*
 “ *Governors and Guarda Costas*, on the Effects
 “ and

“ and Persons of his said Subjects, to be repre-
 “ sented to his *Catholick* Majesty, with Demand
 “ of immediate Satisfaction for the same; and
 “ his *Catholick* Majesty, through his known
 “ Equity and Justice, and Abhorrence of such
 “ barbarous Proceedings in his Subjects, being
 “ disposed not only to give the said Satisfaction,
 “ and ample Security against such Injuries and
 “ Insults for the future, but to shew the brotherly
 “ Affection He has for his *Britannick*
 “ Majesty, as well as Regard for the Honour of
 “ the *British* Nation, and manifest the Sincerity
 “ of his Intentions to prevent an open Rupture
 “ between the two Crowns; for these Reasons
 “ his Majesty the King of *Great-Britain*, and
 “ his Majesty the King of *Spain* have, &c.”

A Preamble of this Nature, Sir, would have
 become a Nation possessed of two hundred Men
 of War, and such a Preamble it is not to be
 doubted but Mr. *Keene* had Instructions to insist
 upon, and which it is as little to be doubted
 was refused by *Spain*, through the *underhand*
Instigations of France.

I am so thoroughly persuaded that You have
 not only Bowels for your Country, but Talents
 to serve Her effectually, tho' some sanguine
 Writers will not allow that You have either;
 this, I say, I am so thoroughly persuaded of,
 that I am morally sure nothing has been want-
 ing on your Side, as far as the almost insuperable
 Obstacles you met with would give You Leave
 to exert Yourself. But alas! Sir, those Obsta-
 cles, by the Principal of which I mean the *Ar-*
tifices and *underhand Intrigues* of *France*, will
 always

always exist, except You resolve to rouse up all that is worthy and great in You, and *courageously* determine to break thro' Them. When You take that Resolution, so worthy of Yourself, so worthy of a *Minister of Great-Britain*, I dare to venture to pronounce You triumphant. As the Lion in the Toils stood in need of the Assistance of the Mouse, I shall humbly make You an offer of mine in such practicable Advice, as with your Approbation can hardly fail to disintangle your Country, bring down the Haughtiness of *Spain*, and turn the Tables once more upon *France*. But, previous to that Advice, give Me leave, Sir, to offer a Word or two concerning the Conduct of the Court of *Ver-sailles*, and to quit the *Convention* without presuming to meddle with any of the Articles of it.

If you have been reprehensible in any Part of your Conduct, as to foreign Affairs, You have been in nothing more so than in the Confidence You have had in the Faith and Honour of the *French Court*. Candid, grateful and sincere in Yourself, you thought the *French Minister* would repay You with equal Candour, Sincerity and Gratitude; this indeed would have been but natural for You to expect, if History, for near eleven Centuries, had not warn'd You that no Trust is to be reposed in the Gratitude or Honour of the *French Ministers* and their Monarchs. *France* has had but one *Charlemagne*, but one *St. Louis*, and but one *Charles VII*, in all the Course of her Monarchy. I am therefore afraid that your Credulity and good Opinion
of

of Her has made your Country her Dupe; and if We are become so, We must now implore your utmost Endeavours to shield Us from her Designs, and that Power to which your Conduct, tho' without any ill Intention on your Side, has contributed to raise Her.

If *France* has design'd Us no Evil since the happy Accession of the august *House of Hanover* to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, how came the present *French King* to take upon Himself to PROMISE King *Philip* to procure Him the Restoration of *Gibraltar*? That *Louis XV.* promised such a Thing, is evident from his own * *Manifesto* publish'd at *Paris* the 9th of *January* 1719, N. S. and I think it is as evident that, after such a Piece of ——— what shall I call it, Sir? ——— in presuming to promise any Part of our Dominions to another Prince, *Britain* ought to have kept the *French Court* at Arms-Length, instead of chiming in with, or at least permitting the Progress of those Measures that have, since the Death of *Queen Anne*, contributed to the present overgrown monstrous Power of *France*.

If *France* has design'd Us no Evil since the Death of *Queen Anne*, why did She, in Violation of that so much, by the *Daily Gazeteer* Writers, cry'd-out-against Treaty of *Utrecht*, OPEN the HARBOUR of DUNKIRK, and put it in a Condition to receive Ships of 40 or 50 Guns? And why did *Great-Britain* indolently and tamely suffer so glaring a VIOLATION of
one

* The Words are, his Majesty's Promise to procure Him the Restoration of *Gibraltar*, which so sensibly touches the whole Spanish Nation, and which her King has so earnestly desired of a long Time.

one of the very best Articles of the Treaty of *Utrecht* ?

If *France* has no Evil in *Petto* for Us and the *Protestant Religion*, why is She endeavouring to defeat the King of *Prussia* of his Right to the Dutchies of *Fuliers* and *Bergue* ? And why is She putting Herself to what would be otherwise a needless, and, indeed, very useless Expence in making a Harbour at *Gravelines*, in adding new Fortifications to *Boulogne*, and in fortifying and enlarging the Port of *Cherbourg* ? If She has no latent Designs against *Britain*, why is She fortifying so many Frontiers at once just opposite to Us ?

If *France* has no Designs against our present happy Establishment, why has She enter'd into a Treaty of Subsidy with *Sweden*, which will cost Her Nine Millions of Livres, in order to keep that Crown from entering into any Treaty for ten Years to come, with any Power in Europe, by which is principally meant *Great-Britain*, without the Consent of *France* ? And why She has been leaving no Stone unturn'd to bring *Denmark* to accept of the like Subsidy upon the like Conditions ? Are these Measures any Tokens of Friendship to Us ; or are they not rather Prognosticks of some sudden Mischief design'd against our Country, when *France* has secured all our antient Allies to Herself, or at least wean'd Them from Us ? — With this View is She not also endeavouring, with all her usual Arts and Intrigues, to get *Russia* into an Alliance with Her ? If She succeeds She doubles our Difficulties.

Our

Our News Papers tell Us that *France* is likewise making a Treaty with *Spain* for the reciprocal Security of their Trade and Navigation in *America*; can You then, Sir, if this News be true, have a clearer Demonstration that the Intrigues of *Versailles* have clogg'd all your Negotiations at *Madrid* for obtaining Satisfaction for our plunder'd Merchants, future Security for our Trade, and Reparation of Honour for our insulted Country? No, Sir, You cannot; *France* has clogg'd all your Measures, and traversed every Step of your Conduct for the Interest of *Britain*, even when You were obliging Her most. But in the Return She has all along made You, She has not been more ungrateful nor more unjust to You and *Great-Britain*, than she has been to all other Persons and States that ever were serviceable to Her. *Naples*, *Sicily* in general, and the sacrificed People of *Messina* in particular, *Cyprus*, *Genoa*, *Poland*, *Metz* in *Lorraine*, *Ireland*, King *James II*, the Duke of *Mantua*, and a Multitude of other illustrious Persons and Places, are standing Monuments of her Perfidy and Ingratitude, and will remain so to the latest Posterity. *Pilate*, who Historians say, was a *Frenchman* (that is, born in the Country now call'd *France*) put the Question to our Lord JESUS CHRIST *Quid est Veritas?* But did not stay for an Answer; which was sufficient to shew, that his Countrymen of old had not the least Acquaintance with Truth, and that He had as little Desire to know Her as any of Them. His washing his Hands demonstrated that He had been a shuffling Rascal ab

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Origine;

Origine; and I know a certain *modern Minister*, who, perhaps, by Way of Imitation, is always rubbing his Hands over one another, and smiling most graciously when He is promising any thing He never intends to perform, and negotiating with a Design to deceive.

Sir, when I think how *France* has used You, how She has abused your but too fatally good Opinion of Her, I can hardly keep within the Bounds of Patience. You know best, indeed, what Advances, what Proffers of her *good Offices* She made to You, for accommodating Matters between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, when She saw the Resentment of *Britons* beginning to kindle into Rage at the daily Wrongs They received, and the haughty, the affected Delays of the *Spanish Court* to give Them Satisfaction. These Things, I say, You are certainly the best Judge of; but the whole *British Nation* may now easily perceive, that while the *French* pretended to the Office of *Mediators*, They practised that of Sowers of Contention, and took the Opportunity of our arming, to make a Marriage between the *Infant Don PHILIP* and the eldest Daughter of *Louis XV*, if not likewise another between the *DAUPHIN* and the eldest *Infanta* of *Spain*. Those Marriages threaten Us with the most dangerous Consequences. The eldest *MADAME* of *France* is to arrive in *Spain* before the Expiration of the *eight Months* allow'd for our Treaty, now begun, I suppose, with the *Catholick Court*; and then every Man may guess how the Treaty is likely to go.

If

If but the first of those Marriages takes Place, the Treaty may spin out not only *eight Months*, but likewise until the DESIGNS of France and Spain AGAINST Us are ripe for Execution. Besides, Sir, it is easy to foresee, by that Marriage, that *the DUKE of LORRAIN is not to continue long GREAT DUKE of TUSCANY, nor the EMPEROR to hold the POSSESSION of PARMA and PLACENTIA*. No, Sir, those three Dutchies will, in all human Appearance, fall to the Share of *Don Philip*, and very probably be erected into a Kingdom, for the greater Grandeur of the eldest *Madame of France*: Nay, Sir, his Imperial Majesty will also, in all Probability be *stript* of the *MILANEZE* too, if another Marriage takes Place that is talk'd of, between the second *Madam of France* and the King of *Sardinia's* eldest Son; the Consequence of all which will be the putting the Emperor further out of Condition of being an useful Ally to *Great-Britain* upon any future Occasion; to which the *Turkish War*, privately kept up by *France*, under the Mask of a pretended Mediation, will further contribute. And yet this is not all the Damage We are to expect from those Marriages, or even the first of them; a total Prohibition of our Trade to the greatest Part of *Italy* will immediately follow, if We don't patiently submit to the Search and Seizure of our Ships by the *Spanish Guarda Costas* in the *American Seas*, and the Confiscation of them by the Courts of Judicature in the *Spanish West-Indies*; or if We don't in Time exert that Strength, of which our Situ-

ation, and the Products of these Islands, and the the Seas that furround them, have still left Us Masters, notwithstanding all lost Opportunities, and all past Errors.

AB A late *Dutch* Mail tells Us, in the Article from *Madrid*, that the *Spanish* King sent Orders to all his Sea-Ports in *Spain*, for an Account of the Number of Seamen belonging to them, and that their Number, after an exact Enquiry, was found to amount to 30,000; of which I may venture to affirm, that half are natural-born Subjects of *Britain*. The same Mail further says, that the *Spaniards* are fitting out a Fleet at *Cadiz* with all possible Expedition. But what Service can it be for, Sir, except against *Tuscany*, if You are sure of the Intentions of *Spain* to grant that future Security to our Trade and Navigation in *America*, which not only our Honour, but even our Preservation obliges Us to insist upon, let the Expence, or even the Danger be never so great? It is better to die like Men, with our Swords in our Hands, than to negotiate Ourselves into the wretched, the despicable Condition of being trampled upon and treated as Slaves, by a Nation, that, notwithstanding all their Pride and Insolence, never were, nor ever can be a Match for Us but thro' our own Fault, whether that Fault proceeds from *Infatuation*, or from that greater Curse *Corruption*.

A safe and honourable Peace I am afraid You can never expect from *Spain*, without the MEDIATION of BLOWS, as long as the Intrigues of *France* can prevent it. *Spain*, indeed, seems to

to listen to Terms of Accommodation, and has even sign'd a *Convention*; but, Sir, may not this possibly be all Grimace on her Side? Does She not want to get home her *Assogues* Ships and her *Galleons*, in which the *Wool* of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* has given the *French* the *best Share*? When they arrive, which I dare venture to say will be before the Treaty is finish'd, You may perhaps hear Her change her Note.

Give me leave, Sir, to conclude in reminding You, that *Louis XV*, not only *promised*, but *ENGAGED Himself to obtain for the King of Spain the RESTITUTION of GIBRALTAR*; these, Sir, are the very Words of the *French King's Manifesto*; but upon *what Grounds* He made so *unprecedented a Promise*, and enter'd into so surprizing an *Engagement*, I shall not enquire. The *Promise* is made, the *Engagement* is enter'd into, the King of *Spain* will always insist upon the Performance of them, and the *French King* has likewise an Interest to perform them if possible; because He then removes the great *BAR* which the Treaty of *Utrecht* put to the *Function* of the *Toulon* and *Brest* Squadrons, which is one of the best Things that ever hath been done for *Britain*. This Promise of the *French King* is indeed, Sir, a knotty Point; and (I repeat it once more) my humble Opinion is, that We can have no solid Peace with *Spain*, let Her sign never so many *Conventions* and *Treaties*, as long as *Gibraltar* remains in our Hands, or until We bravely declare to Her, by the Mouths of our Cannon, that *Britain* is now
resolved

resolved to bury Herself in her own Ruins, rather than either *INGLORIOUSLY part with GIBRALTAR*, or basely *submit to Depredations or Insults*, through any Considerations whatsoever.

As I have thus, with the Freedom of a *Briton*, and, I hope, with the Good-Manners and Politeness of a Gentleman, given You my Opinion of the present Situation of our Affairs, I shall, in my next, if You please to permit Me, give You my Advice how to raise your Country again to that Figure in *Europe* which She made in the most glorious Part of the Reign of Queen *Anne*.

I have the Honour to be, with sincere Wishes for your Preservation, and profound Respect for your Person,

S I R, Your most humble

Most obedient

Most devoted Servant,

*Gray's-Inn,
March 12, 1739.*

CALEB D'ANVERS.



LETTER



LETTER II.

S I R,



HOPE the humble Advice I am going to offer You, in Behalf of *Great Britain* against the Designs of her Enemies, will be so far from giving You Offence, that it will rather receive your Approbation. I have, Sir, with a very impartial Attention, read all the Pamphlets that have hitherto appear'd in Defence of the *Convention* lately concluded with *Spain*, and find that They generally agree in libelling *Great-Britain*, in making the *Spaniards* much *honest* Men than Britons, and in declaring against our attacking the *Galleons*, *Assogues Ships* or *Flotilla*; and that too for the laudable Reason that the *FRENCH*, forsooth, HAVE THE GREATEST SHARE IN THEM; those very *French*, who, through a Redundance of Friendship for Us, have lately trump'd up their *old Edict* of 1701, against our Trade, because They did not find our Ministers such abandon'd Blockheads, or such Traitors to their Country, as to enter into
the

the new Treaty of Commerce proposed by *France*, which was visibly calculated for our Ruin. For this Reason, and this Reason alone, the Court of *Versailles* has trump'd up an *Edict* against Us, that had lain so long forgotten, and was made at a Time when a Rupture between the two Nations was unavoidable. Behold the Stability of *French Friendship*, and the destructive *Terms* upon which alone it can be preserved!—— But, Sir, let *France* and her Friendship go to the D—l;—— This is the first Article of Advice I humbly take leave to give You, and I hope You will listen to it.——Our History is crowded with Examples that We never were in so secure a Condition, nor ever made so glorious a Figure in *Europe*, as when *French Malice* and *Enmity* ran highest openly against Us. A thousand shining Instances in our Annals have convinced Us, that the Arms of *France* never can triumph over *Britain* until her *Gold* has corrupted our *Ministers*, which, even by the Confession of your Adversaries, I think We are not in any great Danger of, and until her Intrigues and her *Friendship* have reduced Us to a Condition too low to withstand Her. To reduce Us to such a Condition has, indeed, been all her Drift since the Death of Queen *Anne*. To this End has She not been always cajoling and endeavouring to *finess* Us into one Treaty or other, in order to further Her own private Interest and strengthen her Hands? Was it not with this very View that She bamboozled the *Dutch* into their fatal *Neutrality* during the late War, which as *fatally* served for a Precedent here?

here? Was it not with this View that She so long underhand spirited up the *Spaniards* in all their Villainies against our Merchants, in all their Barbarities to our Seamen, in all their Insolence to *Britain*? Was it not with this View that She threw perpetual underhand Obstacles in your Way, when your *English Heart* bled for the wounded Honour of your Country and the Murder of your Countrymen? And is it not apparent, that with this very View, She is now contracting Alliances, making Marriages, and still encroaching upon every Branch of our Trade, and stealing our Wool? Can then, Sir, any *Briton*, but one that as impudently as inhumanly rejoices at the Ruin of his Country, dare to say, that We ought not to attack the King of *Spain's Galleons*, or *Flotilla*, or *Assogues Ships*, in Case of a War, because the *French* have the greatest Share in Them? If the *French* really have the greatest Share in Them, which I firmly believe, and am morally sure is owing to the *British* and *Irish Wool* clandestinely exported to *France*, that very Article seems to Me an undeniable Reason why We ought to attack those Ships. If *France* has at present the greatest Share of the Wealth brought from the *Spanish West Indies*, I hope this is the last Time it will be so; the Remedy lies in our own Hands; You know the Remedy, Sir, and can apply it if You please before the Parliament breaks up. Should then the same Argument ever be made use of again, upon any future Occasion, We shall know at whose Door to lay the Fault. If such an Argument as hath been alledged in the Pam-

phlets I have mention'd, must always hold good against our attacking the King of *Spain's* Ships, and if no effectual *Provision* be made this Session of Parliament against the *Exportation* of *British* and *Irish Wool*; I most humbly think, Sir, that it would be better Policy in Us to sit down, and, with Patience and Submission, look on the *Captures* of our *Merchantmen* by the *Spanish Guarda Costas*, the *Plunder* of our *Merchants*, the *Imprisonment* and *Murder* of our *Seamen*, and the *Destruction* of our *West India Trade*, rather than hasten on our Poverty, and consequently the Ruin of the Monarchy, by needless Expences, in equipping out Squadrons and Fleets that dare not attack the *Spanish Galleons* and *Flotilla*, for fear of injuring, and consequently provoking the *French*, who have been the underhand Instigators of all the Affronts and Damages We have received from *Spain*, and the *Fomenters* of all the Animosity of that Nation to Us upon Account of GIBRALTAR; which important Fortrefs, the only Acquisition of Consequence that We have left for Two Hundred Millions Sterling! *France* very lustily PROMISED AWAY from Great-Britain. Hear this, O Britons! Keep it ever fresh in your Minds against that woful Day for *Spain*, and perhaps for *France* too; that Day of Wrath, in which You shall be permitted to draw your Swords, in Spite of all *French Intrigues* and *Spanish Evasions*, to take ample Vengeance for the Injuries and Dishonour your Country has received!

The *Writers* of the *Daily Gazetteer* have also been very blameable in their Conduct, relating to

to the Dispute about the Necessity of a War to vindicate our Trade and our Honour, or a base Submission to the Wrongs We received from the Hands of the *Spaniards* until the *Convention* put a Stop to Them. Whenever the People of this *Metropolis*, fired at the Proceedings of *Spain*, and provoked at the barbarous Treatment and Murder of their Countrymen in *Catholick* Prisons, cried out for a War, and whenever their Cry was seconded by that of the whole Nation without Doors, they were immediately magisterially ask'd, *Where was the Money to be had for carrying on the War? Was not the Nation already incumber'd with a heavy Debt, and the People charged with as many Taxes as They could bear?* All this, or Arguments to the same Effect, were always urged home upon Us whenever We talk'd of the Necessity of chastizing the *Spaniards* before They would or could be brought to stop their *Depredations*. This, I say, Sir, was ever urged home to stop the Cry of the Publick for a War, rather than continue *stigmatized Spectators of the Ruin of our American Trade, and the daily Dishonour done to the Flag of Great-Britain*; but the worthy Gentlemen that argued thus learnedly in Politicks against a War, and the Impossibility of carrying it on, never vouchsafed all the while, to shew Us the Impossibility there had been in *Twenty-five* Years Peace either to reduce the National Debt lower than it is, or to take off those Taxes that now lie heaviest on the Poor, and are the greatest Clog to the little Trade We have left. — No, Sir, not a Word to that

Purpose could We hear from Them, tho' it would certainly have been no small Satisfaction to *Britons* to know, that the Continuance of the Publick Debt and their Taxes, had not in any Measure been owing either to the Want of Integrity, or the Want of Abilities in the Gentlemen who have been so long at the Helm. But whenever *Spanish Insolence* and *Spanish Depredations* were out of the Question, if we Ourselves complain'd of the visible Decay of almost every Branch of our Trade, through the *Encroachments of France*, if We were uneasy at the long Continuance of the Publick Debt in a Time of Peace, and thought our Taxes too heavy for Us to bear, the same logical Gentlemen were ever as ready to assure Us, that there had been no Period of Time in which the Trade of *England* was so flourishing, or the Nation so rich and powerful as at that very Instant; and to evince the Truth of what they asserted, and to shew Us our Ingratitude to the Ministry, for the Peace and Plenty We wallow'd in by their Conduct, our vast National Cash, the Goodness of our Credit both at home and abroad, the crowding of Foreigners into our Funds, the prodigious Quantity of our Plate, the as prodigious Number and Value of our Diamonds and other precious Stones, our magnificent Buildings, our sumptuous Furniture, our splendid Equipages (and other Marks of some People's *Luxury* and *Corruption*, rather than of the Nation's Riches) were all lugg'd into the Argument to bear Witness against our Complaints of the Decay of our Trade, by the *Encroachments*
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of the *French*, and the *Depredations* of the *Spaniards*. On the 13th of *January* last, the *French* were likewise represented by Them as our best Friends and Assistors; but, indeed, those self-consistent Gentlemen, who know so well how to argue *pro* and *con* to serve a Turn, have in a much later Paper acknowledged the *French* to be our Rivals in Trade. A Confession for which We are obliged to the universal Dislike which the *Convention* met with without Doors, notwithstanding all its Merit.

Now, Sir, as either one or the other of these Methods of arguing must be absolutely false, because They are diametrically opposite, which of Them will You please to adopt? *Neither*, Sir, if You please to listen to my humble Advice; because *neither* of Them can possibly do You any Honour with the intelligent Part of Mankind, either *Britons* or *Foreigners*, the present State of our Affairs duly consider'd;

Nor, in my humble Opinion, is those Gentlemens Conduct less blamable in printing the List of *Common-Council* of *London*. The World looks upon it as a Sneer at, or rather an Insult on the City; and if *either*, it cannot strengthen your Credit or Interest there. If there is but ONE *West-India Merchant* in the *Common-Council*, which the *Daily Gazetteer* took Notice of in Capitals, that did not lessen the Weight of the *City Petition* to the Parliament; it being well known that the *West-India Merchants* petition'd in a Body by Themselves. Had there not been even one Merchant of any Denomination in the *Common-Council*, as there are several, that respectable

spectable Body is composed of Men, several of whom are of great Fortune and Figure in this Metropolis; Woollen-Drapers, Linnen-Drapers, Dyers, Packers, Mercers, Grocers, Druggists, Tobacconists, Smiths, Braziers, Coopers, Apothecaries, Surgeons, Attorneys, Printers, Book-fellers, and several others, whom, for Brevity's Sake, I omit, as I have mention'd these without Order or Distinction, are highly useful to their Country; and I question very much whether their Country could do without Them. They have every one of Them some Relation or other either to our Foreign or Plantation Trade, and any Injury done to our Navigation directly affects Them; nay, Sir, it affects every Man in the Nation, from his Majesty down to the meanest of his Subjects, and therefore every Man in the Nation had a Right to join in a Petition to the Legislature for *preserving* our *West-India Trade* unmolested by the *Spaniards*. The Butchers, Brewers, Bakers, Taylors, Shoemakers, Perukemakers, &c. of this City, had also as good a Right to petition as even the *West-India Merchants* Themselves; for when our *Sea Trade* is lost, our *Inland Trade* will not be worth a Button; it will be no more than *peddling*, which the landed Man will soon find by woful Experience in the Fall of his Rents, and the King most sensibly feel, by the *Fall* of his *Civil List*. For God's Sake, Sir, permit Me then to ask You this humble Question. Where was the good Sense, or even the Joke, in printing the List of the *Common Council* of the City of *London*, with Trades or Callings annex'd

annex'd to the Members Names? I hope, Sir, it was not to insinuate to the *Spaniards*, whose natural Pride and Haughtiness make Them indistinctly despise Tradesmen, and Traders of all Denominations, that the great Cry and Petition against the SEARCH of our Ships, were only made by a Parcel of mean Mechanicks and contemptible Fellows. The Glory of *London* consists in her Trade, which has made her the greatest City upon Earth, or that ever has been upon Earth; can the Inhabitants then be blamed, or ought They to be ridiculed and exposed in a contemptible Light to *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*, for endeavouring to preserve the Trade and Navigation of *Britain*? Is not *Bristol*, and all the other Ports of *England* in the same Sentiments with *London*? Have not the *Scotch* and *Irish* too, in loud Complaints to the Government, resented the Insults and Robberies committed by the *Spaniards*? A Citizen of *London* values Himself, and very justly too, upon being an honest Tradesman; his honest Industry not only makes a handsome Provision for his Family, but would every Year increase the national Stock of the Kingdom, were not *French Encroachments* and *Spanish Depredations* such destructive Drawbacks from Us. His Industry, whether as a Merchant, Trader, or common Mechanick, does it not contribute to the Maintenance of the King and his Ministers? Is He not therefore intitled to demand their Protection, and to find it too against foreign Robbers either by Sea or Land; when a laced or embroider'd Villain, who, to support his Luxury or Extravagance,

vagance, is ready to sell his Country for a Bribe; if He can find the Man to bribe Him, deserves the Gallows?

But the *Writers* of the *Daily Gazetteer*, not satisfy'd with *abusing the City*, by insulting her *Common-Council*, have aggravated that Abuse and that Insult, in their Paper of the 12th Instant, in a most scurrilous and *Billingsgate* Challenge to the *Daily Post* and *Common Sense*, to produce *two Instances* in which They have call'd the *Common-Council* Men by Trades They are not of; but to their Shame, if such profligate Fellows, to use their own Words, can be ashamed, the *Daily-Post* of the 17th Instant produced five Instances; and *Common Sense* of the same Date, produced six more, the Whole Eleven being Men of Fortune; and many more, no Doubt, may and will be produced. This, Sir, I thought fit to take Notice of to You, because the *Daily Gazetteer* Gentlemen have all along pretended to write in your Defence, and have always appear'd fond of being thought honour'd with your Approbation and Protection; a Thing which I very often much doubted from their continued Scurrilities, and daily Contradictions and Blunders. But, Sir, if They have your Protection, I am morally sure, for the Reasons I have given, You never read their Works, and therefore my second Article of humble Advice to You is to discard them; they never put Pen to Paper in your Cause without doing you some new Disservice or other with the Publick. In this Advice I act diametrically opposite to my own Interest, which I
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am willing to sacrifice to yours; for had I no other Matter to go upon, the Blunders and Inconsistencies that swarm in the Writings of those self-conceited Politicians, would always furnish Me with sufficient Subject for the Support of my Paper, whose principal View is the Service of my Country.

My third Article of Advice to You, Sir, is to procure a general *Act of Indemnity* before the Parliament breaks up; I mention'd it twice in the Course of the Month of *January*, and now humbly remind You of it. I am not impeaching the Integrity of any Gentleman, either in the Administration, or employ'd in a Station subordinate to it; but the very best of Men have their Failings, and, notwithstanding all their Care and Uprightness, very often stand in Need of Indulgence. Our present Danger is, by both Sides, allow'd to be very great; and, for my Part, I take it to be much greater than is generally apprehended by the Majority of either Side, I mean, Sir, if We go on in the old Track; it therefore calls upon Us to unite in our common Defence, to forgive past Errors, and to forget our mutual Animosities. Such a Scene would render Don *Benjamin Keene* of no Use at *Madrid*; No, Sir, we should soon see Don *Sebastian de la Quadra* soliciting a Peace upon our Terms at *London*. If, after the passing such an Act of Indemnity, You, and the other Gentlemen now at the Helm, should not think fit to undergo the Fatigue of it any longer, a Retreat from Business would be both safe and honourable; it is what wise Ministers will al-

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ways forecast, 'tis what They will always endeavour to compass; and it is what I am persuaded none of your Adversaries, if He is not a bloody Madman indeed, will ever oppose.

My fourth Article of Advice to You, Sir, is to send Instructions, in the mean Time, to Mr. *Keene*, to insist, before proceeding a Step further in the Treaty, on a formal and publick Declaration under the Hand of the *Catholick* King and Seal of the Kingdom, by which his *Catholick* Majesty renounces, for Himself, his Heirs and Successors FOR EVER, all Claim and Pretensions to GIBRALTAR, PORT-MAHON, and GEORGIA; and if this RENUNCIATION is not validly made in all the proper Forms, and deliver'd into his Hand within the Space of fourteen Days after Demand of it, then to leave the *Spanish* Court, and come back to *London*. I think fourteen Days sufficient, because there is nothing of Difficulty to discuss in the Matter, but whether the *Spaniards* are resolved to leave Us in Possession of those Places, or design to turn Us out of them the very first Opportunity They meet with, by the Assistance of France; for which Assistance the *French* King stands ENGAGED as to *Gibraltar*, if he cannot cajole Us to part with it, by promising to continue to Us the Honour of his Friendship until IT HATH NOT LEFT US WORTH A GROAT.

Upon the Refusal of the above-mention'd Renunciation to be made by King *Philip*, as refused no Doubt it will be, let it be demanded when it will, my next Advice to You, is to give your Country Leave to draw her Sword, before

before Rust and *Negotiation* wear away its Edge. Send our Fleets where they ought to be sent, and give our Admirals such Instructions as the brave *Oliver* Himself used to give for CHASTISING *the Plunderers of Britain*.

Do this, Sir, and You will soon see the Difference between *negotiating* and *fighting*. From the first, I speak according to my Conscience as well as my Judgment, *Britain* has nothing to expect, but Loss of Opportunities, and the Calamities and Dishonour that usually attend such gross and unpardonable Mistakes in Politicks; but *Glory, Peace, Extention of Trade*, and the *future Security of it*, will be Consequences of FIGHTING, if We take Time by the Forelock, and don't let the *Galleons* come home, by *treating away* the Season for Action.

I have the Honour to be, with the most profound Respect, and the most perfect Attachment,

S I R, Your most humble

Most obedient .

Most devoted Servant,

Gray's-Inn,
March 19, 1738-9.

CALEB D'ANVERS.

P.S. You see, Sir, that I am enter'd into a very voluminous Undertaking; but I hope that half a Dozen Letters more will bring Me pretty well through it, and also intitle Me to what I am highly ambitious of, I mean, Sir, the Honour of your Esteem.

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LETTER



LETTER III.

S I R,

BY the two Letters which I had the Honour to address to You, in my Paper of the 17th and 24th of this Month, You have seen how different my View is from that of Mr. Goreham's CALEB and his ASSOCIATE of *White-Fryars*. While the former is raking into your Conduct these fourteen Years past, with no Manner of Utility to the Publick, and the latter rummaging the *Spanish* History for Parallels, perhaps to altogether as little Purpose, I am humbly giving you Advice, how to extricate yourself out of those Difficulties into which the Artifices and Ingratitude of *France* and *Spain*, join'd to your own too good Opinion of the Honour and Integrity of the Ministers of both, seem now to have plunged You. Whether the Authors I have mention'd aim more at your *Destruction* than the Service of *Britain*, is what I shall not pretend to decide; the Tenour of their Writings, and their own Consciences, can best determine the

the Question; but, for my Part, Sir, I am neither afraid nor ashamed to declare, that I seek nothing but your *Preservation* and the *Welfare* of my Country, which I do not think to be any Way incompatible.

I wish indeed, Sir, that your Conduct had produced Events very different from those with which the whole Nation without Doors now appears so highly displeased; but still, I must acknowledge, that I don't think those Events altogether incurable; nay, I believe they would not have appear'd quite so monstrous in the Eyes of the Publick, nor the Clamour against them been near so loud, had it not been for the egregious Nonsense and Impudence of the Scribblers that endeavour'd to defend them; and the insolent, the provoking Discourses which I believe took their Rise somewhere not far from *Soho-Square*.

To plunder our Merchants and to put a Stop to our Trade, were Injuries of such a Nature as threaten'd no less than the Destruction of the Kingdom, if continued, and therefore loudly call'd for Satisfaction and a bloody Revenge; but when we were coming to the Point of both, Our Merchants, who had been villainously plunder'd of their Properties, were also as villainously attack'd in their Fame; a Set of *spaniolized* Miscreants, whether by Commission or not I don't say, went about the Town, exclaiming in some Places, and whispering in others, that our *West-India Merchants* were a Pack of *Thieves* and *Robbers*, that, by a *clandestine* and *illicit* Trade they had robb'd the King of *Spain* of ten
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Times more than their Ships taken by the *Spanish Guarda Costas* amounted to, and that, by such a Robbery, they had raised themselves from nothing, to the Circumstances of being able to give their Daughters from Twenty to a Hundred Thousands Pounds a Piece for their Fortunes; that Sir T—— had discover'd all this, and open'd the Eyes of the *Spanish* Court and Nation; that a SEARCH was absolutely necessary to prevent the Ruin of *Spain*, or our Merchants would continue the same *pyratiscal* Practices; and that therefore his *Catholick* Majesty was resolved never to give up that Point. This, Sir, and a great deal more, has been speech'd about Town, to the great Dishonour of our Merchants, and indeed of our Country; and thus the Gentlemen who are every Year endeavouring to encrease the national Stock of the Kingdom by a fair and enterprizing Industry; Gentlemen who every Year set Thousands and Thousands of their Countrymen to work, who would otherwise unavoidably perish, or live like Vagabonds, were insulted for complaining of the daily Wrongs they received; and had new *Depredations* committed on their Character, by apostate Subjects of *Great-Britain*, for demanding *Restitution* of their Effects plunder'd from them by the *Spaniards*.

And that no Malice, no Venom might be wanting against our Trade and Navigation, out came two different Compilations of Sophistry and Falsehoods, which may justly be call'd Master-pieces of Villainy in their Kind; they were calculated to serve and extol *Spain*, at the
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Expence and Disgrace of *Great-Britain*. Both have been since translated into *French*, and both now stand inserted in the *Amsterdam*, *Utrecht*, and *Leyden Gazettes*, to shew the Injustice of our Demands upon *Spain*, and our Inability to procure ourselves Satisfaction, had even our Complaints and Demands been never so well grounded. They now remain in those *Gazettes*, as Monuments to Foreigners, as well of our Barbarity and Injustice, as of the wretched State of Weakness to which we are reduced; and not only so, but to give Advice to the *Spaniards* to grant none of our Demands, because those Demands are not only unreasonable in themselves, but we are in no Manner of Condition to force *Spain* into our Terms. This, Sir, I may, and so may every true *Briton* in the Nation, without the least Breach of Charity, take to have been the mischievous and hellish Design with which those *Pamphlets* were publish'd. One of them is call'd *POPULAR PREJUDICES against the CONVENTION and Treaty with Spain examined and answered, &c.* and the other, *The Grand QUESTION, whether War or no War with SPAIN, &c.* The same malignant Spirit runs through both; and, after reading them, all we learn is, that *We* have all along been in the *Wrong*, and the *Spaniards* in the *Right*; that we have been the *Aggressors* and *Plunderers*, and the *Spaniards* the Parties injured and plundered; that should we go to War with *Spain*, the *French* would assist the *Spaniards*, because they have TWO PARTS in THREE, or at least ONE HALF, of the *Treasure*
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daily coming home in the Spanish Fleets, the Remainder belonging to English, Dutch, Italians, and Spaniards; that we have neither Money nor Allies to carry on a War; and that if we had, we could do but very little Damage to Spain, but the Spaniards might very probably force the Pretender upon us, as they had like to do in the Year 1719.

Now, Sir, these Arguments are either true or they are false; if they are false, why were they, along with several villainous Accusations against our Countrymen, made use of to impose upon the *British* Nation, and clear the *Spaniards* from the Charge of *Plunder, Robbery and Murder*, which we had brought against them? But if they are really true, do they pay any Compliment to your Administration? Can you take the Authors of them to be really your Friends? Had you been eighteen Years out of the Ministry, instead of being so long in it, would not Concern for your Country have made you immediately enquire, and that too in the most publick and loudest Manner, how *Britain* came to be in so miserable, so despicable a Condition, as not to be able to chastize the Insolence of *Spain*, or even to put a Stop to the *Dépredations* of the *Spaniards*, by any Methods but those of Negotiation and Treaty? If we are, indeed, reduced to such a Situation; *if we have no Money, if we have no Allies, if the French have yearly one half of all the Treasure coming from the Spanish West-Indies*, as the *Grand QUESTION* asserts, what Hopes, what Chance have we left in a Treaty with a Nation that have robbed us
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these twenty Years past with Impunity; and yet, by their scandalous, knavish Emissaries here, charge Us now in the Face of the Sun *with having* ROBBED THEM? From such a Disposition in the *Spaniards*, from even a worse Disposition in the *French* towards us, and from these Authors Assertion of our weak and contemptible Circumstances, what have we to expect? NOTHING, Sir, but *present Infamy, gradual Ruin, and absolute Beggary and Slavery in a very few Years*, if these Politicians told us nothing but Truth.

But, Sir, though I have put the Design of these two iniquitous Pamphlets in the Light they deserved, I cannot think our Condition any Way desperate, except you still continue in your Faith in the Friendship and Probity of *France*; which, by what I observed of late, and observed too with Pleasure, I believe is not your Intention. You have lately had a stiff Struggle with *her* about *Denmark*, and, to your Honour be it published to all the World, you have secured that Crown in our Alliance. I most humbly beg Leave to congratulate you on your Success; for by it you have shewn *France*, that when a *British Minister* arms himself against her Flatteries and her Promises, it is no easy Matter to make him her Dupe. The next Alliance you have to make is with *Russia*, I mean, Sir, an *offensive* as well as *defensive* one: if you are expeditious in it, and will boldly venture the Lengths which I think you ought to go, you will have a fair Chance to retrieve all again. An Alliance with *Russia*, which, Sir, I can tell you,

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from infinitely better Authorities than News-Papers, she is well disposed to, will be attended with Advantages hardly to be acquired by any other Alliance in *Europe*, which Advantages I shall touch upon more amply hereafter.

In the mean Time, I beg Leave to offer one Advice more in this Letter; it is what I hope you will insist upon as you are an *Englishman*, as you are a *Friend to the Revolution*, and as you are a *dutiful Subject to your Prince*, and a *faithful Servant to your Royal Master*. Send to *France* to demand the *immediate* DISBANDMENT of all the *Irish* Regiments in the Service of that Crown; demand the like of *Spain*; and if those Courts do not immediately comply with Demands so reasonable in themselves, so conformable to the Law of Nations, and the Duty which Subjects owe to their Sovereign, can we believe that they ever meant us any fair Play, any Justice in all the Negotiation and Treaty Work that has been carrying on near these dozen Years past? Can we believe that *France* and *Spain* are really Friends at the Bottom to our *Act of Settlement*, if they refuse to *disband* those very Men who can do it the most Mischief, and of whom we have the most reason to be jealous?

That we have all the Reason imaginable to be jealous of the *Irish* Troops abroad, is evident from the signal Demonstrations they have given of their Courage in all the Battles and Sieges in which they have been engaged. They saved *France* upon two extraordinary Occasions; they have several Times recovered the Field when
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the *French* Troops themselves were giving Ground in every Part of it; and they have done the like for *Spain*, both in *Sicily* and *Africa*, as well as in *Spain* itself: But I shall here enter into no Detail of their Bravery and the Services they have performed for the *House of Bourbon*, because they are pretty circumstantially set forth in *two Pamphlets that have hitherto remained unanswered. We have further Reason to be jealous of them upon Account of their Attachment to the Family of STUART; and the more so, because that Attachment is founded upon Interest as well as upon Inclination; they have lost their Estates by that *Family*, and by that *Family*, supported by *France* and *Spain*, they hope to recover them some Time or other

Their Number in *France* may be about 6000 Men, including Officers and Cadets; but as every Company is double officer'd, and as there is hardly a private Man among them but what has military Skill and Conduct enough to command a Company; and not a Serjeant or Corporal but what can exercise a Regiment, they could upon Occasion officer 40 or 50,000 Men. They are much more numerous in *Spain*, and consist of Horse, Foot and Dragoons; whereas they are only Horse and Foot in *France*. Upon Occasion their Number, both in *France* and *Spain* may be doubled, by splitting each Regiment into two, and then recruiting them in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; and shou'd the Courts of *Versailles* and

* One a Letter to Sir Robert Sutton, for disbanding the Irish Regiments in the Service of France and Spain; and the other a Defence of the Irish against the Reflections of Wallingham, &c.

Madrid ever join seriously in the Interest of the PRETENDER, when the *French* have beggar'd us by Flatteries and Promises, and *Encroachments* at the same Time on our Trade, and the *Spaniards* by *Depredations* and *Treaties*, they could attack us with 30,000 *Irish* Troops, who by speaking our Language, would do us infinitely more Mischief than double the Number of *French* or *Spaniards*, because all the *Jacobites* in the three Nations would more readily join them than Foreigners: And as they consist at present of 15000 Men, who have all seen Service, a very few late Recruits excepted; as they have been seasoned to Dangers, and pique themselves on the high Reputation they have deservedly acquired Abroad since the Revolution; and as the Officers are most of them Gentlemen of very ancient Families, and have deep Resentment against us for dispossessing them of their Estates, they are, undoubtedly, an Enemy against whom we ought to take all the Precautions that Prudence and Self-Preservation can inspire: Especially since, notwithstanding the Severity of our Laws, and the Vigilance of the Ministry, they have found the Way to recruit with almost as great Facility, or at least with almost as little Molestation, as if they were upon the British Establishment. This indeed may surprize a *British* Reader, but if I have not been misinformed, The Town swarmed with them last Winter; and if I have not been still further misinformed, several of them went from hence to *Dublin* last *December*.—But I say no more on this Head.

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We have, Sir, other Motives that loudly call upon us to insist on the immediate *Disbandment* of the *Irish* Regiments in the Service of *France* and *Spain*. The Writers who, with so much Prostitution and Impudence, justify the Proceedings of the *Spaniards*, have given Us a hundred broad Hints that *Pretendship* has been a great Clog to your Measures; nay, they have bolted it out in express Terms. By which perhaps they mean, that as long as *Pretendship* subsists, we must not go to War with any of our Neighbours, for fear of having the PRETENDER imposed upon us; no, not even tho' they insult us never so much; tho' they seize our Ships, plunder our Merchants, imprison, mutilate and murder our Seamen, encroach upon every Branch of our Trade, and by *stealing* our *Wool*, set half the *Woollen Manufacturers* of *Great-Britain* a begging. They must mean all this, or what, in the Name of God can they mean, by lugging the PRETENDER into their Arguments against a War, so ardently desired, and so loudly call'd for by the whole Nation without Doors? If Dread of the PRETENDER must be a Doctrine publicly preach'd up in this Metropolis, by Fellows who arrogantly pretend to write in Defence of your Conduct; if it must eternally tie up the Hands of *Britons* under continual Depredations, Encroachments and Insults, how long shall we enjoy the Benefits of the late REVOLUTION? Such a Doctrine as this can be no Secret to the *French* and *Spaniards*, who will not fail to shape their Conduct according to it.— If this be the Case, if DREAD of the PRE-
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TENDER, so often propagated by the *Gazetteer* Gentlemen, makes this fatal Ravage amongst us, permit me most humbly to observe to you, Sir, that the *Irish* Regiments abroad are, in a Manner, the very Soul of *Pretendership* itself; even so far, that had it not been for the almost incredible Actions they perform'd in King *William's* and Queen *Anne's* Wars, the *Pretender* would have been long ago forgot in *Europe*: But as the *Irish* Troops still subsist, several Princes look upon him as Master of a gallant Army of *Veterans*, to be employ'd upon a proper Occasion; they look upon him, I say, in such a Light, hear him, and treat him as a Prince of Power.

Another Motive to our demanding the *Disbandment* of the *Irish* Troops abroad, is, that they perhaps contribute to the *keeping up more Forces in Britain, than is consistent with good Oeconomy*, considering the prodigious Bulk of our Publick Debt, and the Weight of our Taxes.

One Motive more, Sir, and then I have done for this Time.

Tho' I cannot subscribe to the Hints which some of the *Daily Gazetteer Writers* have given us, that the Preservation of his Majesty's Crown is chiefly owing to you, Sir, because I am firmly persuaded that his Crown would be altogether as safe, if you were in Heaven, as it is at present; yet, as your Loyalty and Attachment to his Majesty are not question'd by any Body, what I am going to say can no Way affect you, and therefore, I hope, from your Generosity and your Justice, that you will not make a
wrong

wrong Application of it. The unfortunate King *James II.* had a Minister, the Event of whose Conduct demonstrated how safe his Master's Concerns were in his Hands. Is it impossible, then, that some future King of the present Royal and August Line may unfortunately have a Minister of the same Stamp; or at least a Minister, who, by his Faith in the Ministers of *Bourbon*, and, by chiming in with all the Measures of *France* and *Spain*, may irritate the *British* Nation against him so far, as to see no *Safety* for himself but in the *Destruction of his Master*, and the *Ruin of his Country*? If such a Minister should hereafter arise, where could he find such proper Instruments to work with (by the Concurrence of *France* and *Spain* to reward his Services and preserve his Person) as the *Irish* Regiments abroad for bringing about another *Revolution*, and introducing Popery and Slavery once more into *Britain*? This Argument seems to me to be unanswerable; and therefore I most humbly hope, that, join'd with the others which I have made use of, it will have its due Weight, and prevail upon you to demand the *immediate Disbandment of the Irish Regiments in the Service of the most Christian and Catholick Courts.*

If any reasonable Objections can be made in Print to a Proposal so much for the Service and Safety of our happy Establishment, both in Church and State, I shall endeavour not only to answer them, but to deserve your Esteem by what I have further to propose for defeating the lurking Designs of the *French* and *Spanish* Courts against our Country. If *France* and *Spain* refuse

an immediate Compliance with such a Demand, *Great-Britain*, without the Help of any political Spectacles, may not only see what Sort of Treaty, *what future Security for her Trade* she is to expect from the Court of *Madrid*, but also what timely Measures she ought to take to prevent her being further imposed upon, by either *Frenchmen* or *Spaniards*, or their shameless, insolent Faction here.

I have the Honour to be, with the most profound Respect, and the most ardent Desire of your Approbation,

S I R,

Your most humble

Most obedient

Most devoted Servant,

Gray's-Inn,
March 26, 1739.

CALEB D'ANVERS.

P. S. After the Restoration of King *Charles* the 2^d, tho' the Nation was in the highest Extasy of Joy, an *English* Parliament did not understand the Policy of letting foreign Princes have a Body of *British* Subjects in their Pay ; they therefore insisted on the breaking all the *Irish* Regiments abroad ; and broke they were, tho' they had follow'd King *Charles* in his Exile ;

Exile; and, by supporting him with their Pay, to the almost starving themselves, had shewn all the Zeal, all the Loyalty, and dutiful Attachment to their Sovereign, that any Subjects were capable of. This is more than a Precedent for what I propose, because King *Charles* had no *Competitor*, no PRETENDER to his Crown. But if it is not thought sufficient by those Gentlemen, who are always telling us, that we only call for a War to favour the Hopes of the PRETENDER, *whereas, nothing can do him so much Service as the Sort of Peace we enjoy*, in my Opinion; I offer the Case of *Dumbarton's* Regiment to stop their chicaning, and make them blush and be silent if possible.



G LETTER



L E T T E R I V .

S I R,

I WAS not without very serious Apprehensions that my last Letter to you would create me a great many Enemies; but, nevertheless, Duty to my Sovereign, Regard for the Interest of *Great-Britain*, and a real Concern for your Honour and personal Safety, were Motives too strong to give Place to any Considerations of *my own* Danger. The Reasons I have given why I think you ought, in this critical Conjunction, to insist on the immediate *Disbandment* of the *Irish* Regiments in the Service of *France* and *Spain*, are such as I hardly believe will ever receive an impartial and solid Answer; however, Sir, if you are of a different Opinion, I most humbly conceive that the Nation has a Right to expect to see that Answer publish'd forthwith, if those Regiments are not *immediately disbanded*; or at least to see the Reasons of *France* and *Spain* for not disbanding them. I think, Sir, that you are not slightly concern'd

concern'd in the Issue; for if, after what has been said, you let the *Irish* Regiments exist any longer, I mean at the Disposal of the *French* and *Spanish* Courts, to be hereafter employ'd as they think fit against us, you open a Gap for a Million of Reflections and Suspicions to rush in against you; and even Persons the most attached to you, of which I should think myself happy, would you but reckon me one of the Number, may very possibly lessen their Opinion of your Prudence, if not of your Integrity. I speak, Sir, upon a Presumption that the Arguments I have made use of are unanswerable; but if, contrary to my Opinion, the Publick should soon see an Answer come out, I dare venture to promise in Advance, to make such a Reply as the whole *Posse* of Jacobites, whether *in Place* or *out of Place*, of all the different Denominations and Shapes under which they disguise themselves, will find it very difficult to make a Rejoinder.

But, Sir, if you behave yourself like an *Englishman* on this Occasion, if you really in earnest demand the immediate Disbandment of the *Irish* Regiments abroad, and if *France* and *Spain* refuse to comply, you stand acquitted in the Face of your Country; and we must, as I told you in my last, begin betimes to think seriously of the PRESERVATION of the ACT of SETTLEMENT and the PROTESTANT RELIGION in these Kingdoms.

For, Sir, what future Service can *France* have for the *Irish* Regiments, if not *that* of the Pretender? Or *that* of frightening us with him if

we don't submit to perpetual *Encroachments* and *Depredations* on our Trade?

France is at Peace with the *Emperor*, and likely to continue so, except you exert yourself in something more than a Congress at *Madrid*, which, I am more than half afraid, nay, Sir, I venture to say I am almost sure, will not produce what *Britons* have a Right to expect, tho' the *Spaniards* may possibly amuse us with a Treaty. The *French King* has made an absolute *Acquisition* of *Lorrain*, a Thing which *Louis XIV.* could never accomplish, tho' his Chops often water'd after that delicious Morfel; but the more successful *Louis XV.* has brought it to bear, and that too, in the very Time of your holding the Helm of *Great-Britain*. The fortunate *Louis*, fortunate in his Ministers, and consequently so in his Affairs, has brought the House of *Austria* so low that it is not his Interest to have her much lower; he also now pretends, that he has no Design against the *Dutch*, nor any View to extend his *Frontiers* by Force of Arms; what Business then, I humbly ask again, can the *French Court* have with the *Irish* Regiments now in their Pay, if not to have them always ready to employ against *Britain* upon Occasion; or, which will be much the same Thing, to bully *Us* into such Measures as they find most to their own Interest, and our Detriment, in regard to Trade. This Question can never be too often put, as long as there is a distinct Body of *Irish* Troops in *France*.

BUT even should *France*, notwithstanding all her specious Pretences and Declarations, have still

still further Views against her Neighbours on the Continent, what great Necessity can a Prince, who commands Twenty Millions of Subjects, and warlike ones too, stand in of the Assistance of six or seven Thousand *Irish*; especially when he has the *Swiss* on his Borders, from whom he can have what Numbers he pleases for the same Pay? It is true, indeed, that the *Swiss* are much short of the *Irish* in Agility and Strength of Body, as well as that Readiness of Conception and Presence of Mind which are so necessary in a Soldier for timely seizing Advantages; but they are, nevertheless, but little inferior to them in a steady determined Courage. In this Particular the *Swiss* are equal to any, if not superior to most of the Enemies against whom *Louis XV.* can have any Occasion to oppose them, either on the *Meuse* or the *Rhine*. What Occasion then, I most humbly ask once more, can the *French* Court have for the *Irish*, if not to employ them in the Execution of some latent, some favourite Scheme against *Britain*?

As to *Spain*, all the foreign *Gazettes* are preparing us for an entire Accommodation of all Disputes and Differences between her and the *House of Austria*, relating to *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and their allodial Effects, all which will probably return to *Spain* for such an Equivalent in Money as the *Emperor* can get, or rather, in plain *English*, will be forc'd to accept for them. Nay, last *Saturday's London Evening Post*, tells us, from the *Daily Advertiser* (I suppose) who is thought to have al-
ways

ways such Sort of Intelligence from his BETTERS, that an Alliance is concluded between *France*, *Spain*, the *Emperor*, *Sardinia*, the King of the two *Sicilies*, and a *Northern Power*. All this consider'd, Sir, what doughty Service can *Spain* have in *petto* to put the *Irish* upon, if not against *Britain* in Conjunction with *France*? And what Excuse can she furnish for not disbanding the *Irish* Regiments in her Pay, if she really designs to crown our Expectations of a full REPARATION of HONOUR and FUTURE SECURITY for our Trade and Navigation, WITHOUT the INFAMOUS TAG of a SEARCH, by a fair, honourable, solid and lasting Peace?

But still those either wicked or weak headed Fellows, who lately dared here, in open Defiance of the general Voice of their Country, to become Advocates for the *Spaniards*, and justify the Barbarities and Robberies they committed on the Subjects of *Great-Britain*; those Fellows, I say, will, no doubt, become also Advocates again for *France* and *Spain*, if they refuse to disband the *Irish* Troops in their Pay. As a Plea for their Refusal, they will, questionless, eccho back to us the great Services the *Irish* have performed for those Crowns; a Thing which we but too well know already, and our Allies but too sensibly felt upon several Occasions; they will, perhaps, make the Refusal of *France* and *Spain* turn merely upon a Point of Gratitude to Men to whom they owe so much; they will too even endeavour to rouse up our Humanity, and surprize us on the Side of Compassion, by shewing how cruel it would be
to

to deprive such gallant Men of their Bread, through an Apprehension of what is never likely to come to pass. All this and more I am perswaded they will do; but, Sir, don't let yourself be deceived, don't suffer your Country to be imposed upon, our Sovereign to be betrayed, and the *Protestant Succession* to receive a mortal Wound by mere Declamation and comme-place Babble. Let such Advocates bring Reason and Argument to combat what I have said, and then hear them as long as you please.

In the mean time, Sir, as to the Gratitude of *France*, the *Irish* have often experienced it with a Witness; it displayed itself in the Face of the Sun, as soon as the Peace of *Ryswick* had made *Louis XIV*, or rather his Minister, imagine he should have no further Occasion for their Service in a Body. Fifteen Thousand of them were then disbanded in a very odd, and, indeed, in a most scandalous Manner; the Regiments were marched to the greatest Distances possible from one another; and, at the same Time, to the greatest Distance from their Country; and then they were disbanded in such Circumstances as would have drawn Compassion even from an Enemy. The only Excuse for this Ingratitude, this Cruelty, was, that it was only to oblige the private Men to take on in *French* Regiments, and hinder them from going into other Service; that is, into the *German* Service, where they would have been infinitely better used: But in *France*, Reason, Justice, Gratitude, Humanity, and even Religion itself must bend the Knee to the Policy of the Court, and the WILL of the
MINISTER,

MINISTER, *which* is often *most modestly* called
THAT of the KING.

As to the Gratitude of *Spain* to the *Irish*, it can't be fairly impeached; the *Irish* are beloved and respected there: They are in all Respects treated as *Castilians*. The *Spanish* Nation, *Fiat Justitia*, are, in the main of their Character, Men of as great Honour as Haughtiness; and, considering how much the real Interests of *Great-Britain* and *Spain* are naturally interwoven together, I am fully perswaded that nothing but the Influence, the Intrigues, the underhand Artifices of *France*, could have given Rise to those amazing *Depredations* on our Merchants, and those unparallel'd *Cruelties* exercised against our Seamen, which we can never pass over and forgive, but to the eternal Infamy of our Country, if the Court of *Madrid* does not make us a proper and AMPLE *Atonement*. But, Sir, can you imagine that such an *Atonement* is to be expected, as long as the *French* can but keep any one Iron in the Fire to prevent it: And, God knows, and so do you, Sir, or you are most miserably misinformed and deceived, that, at this very Instant, they have but too many. Let then no Consideration for the Honour of *Spain*, who, through the perpetual, the restless Instigation of *France*, had no Consideration for the Trade of *Great-Britain*, prevail upon you to reject the wholesome Advice I have had the Honour to give you.

As for my Part, God is my Judge, I wish no Ill to the *Irish* Troops abroad, when I consider them as my Fellow-Subjects; I look upon them
with

with the highest Esteem, as Men that, even amidst all their important Services for *France* and *Spain*, have done a great deal of Honour to the *British* Empire; because they have demonstrated to Foreigners, that the Subjects of *Britain* can conquer them wherever they fight, even when on the wrong Side of the Question. But when I also view the *Irish* abroad in a political Light, I cannot help looking upon them too as Men, who by the Machinery of *France* and *Spain*, will very probably be made the Instruments of the Destruction of both our Civil and Religious Rights, if we don't insist on their immediate Disbandment, without the least Shuffling or Delay. It is a Pity, indeed, that gallant Men, of any Nation, should be reduced to the unfortunate Condition of wanting the common Necessaries of Life; but as the *Irish* Troops abroad are demonstratively our Enemies, for Reasons I gave in my last, must an ill-placed, an ill-timed Generosity to them, come in Competition with the Preservation of the *Liberties* of *Britain*, and the *Right* of the august *House* of *Hanover*. The *Irish* must either be forthwith disbanded from the Service of *France* and *Spain*, or *that Right* and *those Liberties* will ever continue, not only precarious, but in imminent Danger; and for the Defence of Both, *Britain* will be obliged to keep up a much greater Number of Troops than would be otherwise necessary.

But still, Sir, if Tenderness for the *Irish* in *France* and *Spain* must have any Weight against my Argument, permit me to tell you they can

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be

be in no Danger of starving by the Execution of what I have proposed; the *Emperor* and the *Czarina* can find Employment and Bread enough for them; and in those Services they would be infinitely more regarded, infinitely better treated than they have ever been in the Service of *France*. An *Irishman*, the Velt-Marshal Count *Wallis*, is now General, and *Commander in Chief*, of the Grand Army of the *Roman Emperor*; while another *Irishman*, the Velt-Marshal Count *Lacy*, is General and *Commander in Chief*, of one of the two Grand Armies of the mighty *Russian Empire*; an Honour which *Ireland* never had before, nor perhaps any other Country in the World. Those Generals are known to be not only as generous as they are brave, but also passionate Lovers of their Country; they will therefore always have Interest and Inclination enough to procure a Welcome for their Countrymen whenever *France* and *Spain* disband them; especially as Fame has already sent such loud Recommendations before them. Nay more, Sir, such of the *Irish* Officers as may not like going so far, can't fail of being welcome to the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*, and even to other Potentates of *Germany*, among whom Religion is no Obstacle to the military Preferment of a brave Man.

Let me therefore renew my Supplications to you, to listen to the Advice I have given you. The Minister of a despotick arbitrary Prince may, indeed, do what he pleases, without being accountable to his Country, especially while his Master thinks fit to screen him from the Re-
sentments

sentments of his injured Countrymen; but a Minister in a limited Monarchy may be as culpable in not listening to good Advice, as in following bad.— More I will not presume to say at this Time— except it be to remind you that Spain pretends to an old dormant Title to this Crown, by the Marriage of *Philip II.* to our Queen *Mary I.* and an exprefs Contract between the Royal Pair, which was, *that if they had no Issue by that Marriage, the longest Liver was to be Heir to the other.* Such a Contract was, no doubt, not only whimsical, but very unjust upon several Accounts; but, Sir, should the Sword of Spain ever become sharp enough to cut thro' our Laws, and, God knows, she has had *Helps* enough, *these Dozen Years past*, to grind it to an Edge, the Spaniards would, very probably, have a Way of thinking, very different from ours; they might then, perhaps, put a grave Face upon the Matter to the PRETENDER, and propose a Partition upon the Terms of assisting him to recover the Rest. The Queen of Spain is a Princess of too haughty a Resolution to be easily turn'd aside from her PURPOSES. Tho' Don Philip should get *Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany*, with even the *Mantuan*, and Part of the *Milanese*, I believe all that would hardly satisfy her Ambition, while she had a third Son remaining unprovided for, I mean, Sir, without a Kingdom. There is still a *Madame of France* left for that Prince, with more to spare for others; and if her *Catholick Majesty* should cast her Eye upon *Ireland* for the Infant Don Louis, I humbly ask you, whether *Louis XV.*

would not cheerfully, and to the utmost of his Power, assist a Project that would make his Daughter a Queen; and, at the same Time, furnish him with an Opportunity not to be disturbed by *Spain*, to make himself Master of all the *Austrian Netherlands*, and perhaps of something more? The *Spaniards* would take no Umbrage at seeing *France* acquire the *Low-Countries*, while they themselves had not only made an Acquisition of more than all their ancient Dominions in *Italy*, and were getting *Ireland* too. It is not impossible, Sir, but that the joint Views of those Courts may center in this Point, or in something very near it; but if they do, *the Scheme is not yet ripe; we are not yet brought down poo enough, nor consequently made weak enough; a little more LEGERDEMAIN is wanting; but the same Number of Years, I will suppose four or five, that brings Don Louis to Manhood, may, by good Address in France and Spain, if the Conduct of Britain is bad, reduce us to the Condition in which they impatiently wait to see us, and into which they will leave no Artifice untried to bring us. When Spain has got home two or three Fleets more, in which the GRAND QUESTION assures us the French will always have two Thirds, or at least one Half of the Treasure, and when France has got two or three hundred thousand Packs more of our WOOL, which she will certainly do within the Time I have mention'd, if you do not fall upon other Methods to prevent her than have yet been taken; the Courts of France and Spain will then think themselves strong enough to*
execute

execute their Scheme against *Britain*; but how strong we shall be to oppose them we may easily guess from what is now visible before our Eyes, without laying any Stress on the Arguments of those Gentlemen who call themselves your Advocates, and who gravely tell us we are even *now too weak* to call the *Spaniards* to an Account for their *Depredations*, for fear of bringing the *French* upon our Backs.

It is possible, Sir, that you may have already heard something of the Scheme I have supposed the Queen of *Spain* has projected for Don *Louis*, if not, *you hear it now*; and as I can't see where her *Catholick* Majesty can, without *our Assistance*, make any other Establishment for her Son equal to her Care and Affection for him, I am strongly inclined to believe that such a Scheme is actually on the Tapis. It is therefore, Sir, that I have given you my humble Advice to insist vigorously on the immediate Disbandment of the *Irish* Regiments in *France* and *Spain*, as the most speedy and likely Method either to traverse, or come to a Certainty about it. But, Sir, to that Advice I humbly join another; it is to send over Persons of Integrity, Men of Birth as well as Abilities, Men of Fortune and establish'd Character, to see the *Irish* Troops disbanded. Such Men will give Weight to the Commission they are charged with, and do as much Honour to their Country, as it has received Shame and Disgrace whenever mongrel Upstarts have been employ'd to negotiate her Affairs in foreign Courts.

Part

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Part of what I think is still further absolutely necessary to be done in this Crisis of the Fate of *Great-Britain*, shall be the Subject of my next.

I have the Honour to be, with the most profound Respect, and with hearty Wishes to see you take the right Road,

SIR,

Your most humble

Most obedient

Most devoted Servant,

*Gray's-Inn,
April 2, 1739*

CALEB D'ANVERS.



LETTER



LETTER V.

S I R,

I HOPE my Letters to you concerning the *Irish* Regiments abroad have been so far honour'd with your Approbation, that his Excellency the Earl of *Waldegrave* has already received the necessary Instructions, for demanding the immediate Disbandment of such of those Regiments as are in *France*. I likewise hope, that some Noblemen, of equal Probity and Distinction, will soon be sent to *Madrid* with the like Instructions concerning the *Irish* in *Spain*. With these Hopes, Sir, I presume to give you another Prospect of *Ireland*, in ordre to enforce my Arguments for disbanding the *Irish* abroad, and further convince you of the Reasonableness of my Advice, and the absolute Necessity of listening to it in the present Situation of our Affairs, as well as of those of *France* and *Spain*. As I began before with the *Roman Catholics* of *Ireland*, I shall continue the same Method at present; they being still by
much

much the most numerous Body of Men in that Kingdom.

13. I am not ignorant, Sir, that some political Arithmeticians have told us, that all the landed *Roman Catholick* Interest in *Ireland* does not amount at present to 50,000 Pounds *per Annum*, and is likely to lessen every Year by the Measures that have been taken, and are still taking. I shall not, in any Manner, combat this Assertion; if it be true, so much the worse for us in Case of an Invasion either from *France* or *Spain*. *Alexander* never could have conquer'd *Persia* had his *Macedonians* been rich; and the poorer the *Irish Roman Catholicks* are, the less they have to fear, and the more to hope for from a foreign Invasion. Oh the inconceivable, and I may add, fatal Policy of *England*! Pray, Sir, give me Leave to ask you here, what you think contributed most to our Acquisition of *Ireland*? Was it our superior Courage? Was it our superior Force? If you think it was either, you never were more mistaken in your Life; the *Irish* themselves threw their Country into our Hands by their own perpetual intestine Divisions: In a Word, the same Causes that now weaken the *Roman Empire*, destroy'd the *Independancy* of *Ireland*, and made it the Foot-stool of *England*. Besides the supreme Monarch, *Ireland* had four Provincial Kings who were ever at War among themselves, and those Kings had also several subordinate Princes in their Dominions, who, as they were all descended from one and the same Stock with the Kings themselves, and each of them had a Right to put
in

in to be supreme Monarch himself upon every Election, paid the Provincial Kings no more Allegiance than just suited their own Humour: The constant Employment of those Kings and those Princes was War, and sheathing their Swords in one another's Bowels; this was precisely the Cause that open'd a Door for us into *Ireland*; this was precisely the Condition we found the *Irish* in at our first Entrance; and in the same Condition they most infatuatedly continued several Generations afterwards; nay, in some Parts of the Kingdom until Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, without ever minding the Progress we made in settling ourselves. But now, Sir, the Scene is so alter'd that not the least Traces of it remain. The great Lords and Princes that used to divide the *Irish* Commonalty into almost as many Interests and domestick Quarrels, as there were great Names in the Kingdom, are now no more; they are, except a very few who are become Protestants, lost in the general undistinguish'd Ruin of their Nation; but, Sir, the *Irish* Commons still exist without any Lords to divide, and consequently to weaken them as heretofore; and most of the antient Gentry are dwindled into Farmers upon thirty one Years Leases at a Rack Rent. This, in my Opinion, makes the *old Irish* a Body of People much more to be apprehended by us, in Case of an Invasion, than we ever found them in the Days of their greatest Prosperity; for as the Gentry are poor, their Emulation and former Envy of each others Greatness and Power are quite annihilated; and as they have no Estates either in
I Houses

Houses or Lands, the Government has no solid Foundation to depend on their good Behaviour; in so wretched a Condition, they would, in all Probability, look upon a *Revolution* as a Harvest to their Hopes, and their *common Poverty* would *unite* them to receive an *Invader* of their own Religion with open Arms. Such I fear, should either *France* or *Spain* make an Attempt upon *Ireland*, would be found the dire Effects of our Policy these fifty Years past: Whereas had we left the *Irish* in a Condition, after the Articles of *Limerick*, to grow rich, or at least easy in their Circumstances by an honest Industry, their Acquisitions would have been now so many Hostages for their Loyalty to the present reigning august Family, and so many Securities for their Dependance on *England*: But, instead of this, they are now the poorest and the most miserable People under the Sun, and that too in one of the most fertile and plentiful Countries upon Earth: Nay, so poor, Sir, that I am afraid they think no Change can possibly make them more wretched.

But as the Remembrance of past Errors is to no Purpose, except we think of Expedients to put a Stop to the Consequences that naturally flow from them as long as they remain untaken Notice of, let us consider, if you please, Sir, what may probably be the Number of the declared *Roman Catholics* in *Ireland*.

I have lately heard the Inhabitants of *Ireland* reckon'd to be about *Two Millions*; of which I take *One Million four hundred Thousand* to be *Roman Catholics*; of that Number I suppose

700,000

700,000 Males, and of these Males 300,000 from 16 to 50 Years of Age, whom I may call fighting Men upon Occasion; such a Number can easily set on Foot, and recruit as Occasion offers, an Army of 100,000 Men, who, if armed by *France* or *Spain*, and join'd and disciplined (the Work but of one Campaign) by the 15,000 of their Country, that are now in the Service of those Crowns, would probably fight like Men that had a great deal to win, and nothing to lose; and, I am afraid, would cut us out more Work than we should be able to go through; especially considering how we stand at home, and how great an Advantage it would be to *France* to dismember or cut off any Limbs from the Monarchy of *Great-Britain*. You need not be told, Sir, of what Consequence *Ireland* would become, and what a Figure it would soon make in *Europe*, were it once made a separate independant Kingdom; nor how terrible a Thorn her Situation and Fertility would prove in the Side of *England*. These Things you already know but too well; even every thorough Politician in *Europe* knows them; wherefore I hope you will endeavour to prevent them, with that Candour and Good-Nature which once made the glorious Characteristick of a true *Englishman*, with that Justice and Morality which ought to be inseparable from a *Christian*, and with that Sense and good Conduct which we might reasonably expect in the Minister of the wisest and best of Kings. All these Qualities ought likewise to be found in a Minister descended from one of the ancientest and

best Families in the Kingdom; a Family much older than the *Norman* Race, and in which you are not the first Knight of the Garter. Look back then to the Atchievements of your Ancestors; there was not one of them either *frenchify'd* or *spanioliz'd*; no, Sir, they were true *Englishmen*, and a glorious Race of *Patriots*. In seven or eight hundred Years they made little or no Addition in their paternal Estate, but rather lessen'd it, which I take to be not only a Proof of their *Hospitality*, but of their *Incorruption*. If then you don't make their *Virtues* your great *Example*, your own Conduct will appear but in the more dishonourable Light by the Lustre of your Descent.

If the *Papists* of *Ireland*, whom I had almost forgot, are to be dreaded, should they find a *French* or *Spanish* Head, are we sure of the Attachment and Fidelity of the *Protestants* of *Ireland*? This, Sir, is a Question to be attended to—— They have indeed Estates and Possessions, and we may look upon those Estates and Possessions as so many Hostages against a Rebellion; but that they are a sufficient Security for the Loyalty of the Possessors, in Case of an Invasion, while those Possessors are hinder'd, by a high Hand, from making the most of the Product of their Estates, and a heavy Restraint laid on the Trade of their Country, is what I am far from advising you to trust to. Religion goes far, indeed, with the zealous and the bigotted, and has brought the *Irish Roman Catholics* to Beggary; but as the Generality of Mankind are sway'd by Interest, should any foreign Invader assure

assure the *Protestant Irish* of the free Exercise of their Religion, upon the same Footing that the *Papists* in *Holland* exercise theirs, with the Possession of but half their Estates, where there are *Irish Proprietors* to satisfy with the other Half, and with the Possession of the Whole, where there are no old *Proprietors* to claim; such Terms, join'd to the Consideration of a free Trade, might stagger their Loyalty, and incline them to a Submission, rather than run the Risque of having much harder Conditions forced upon them; especially if they saw us any Way embarrass'd at home, which, perhaps, we might soon be, not only by some of our Neighbours, but by such of the *Scots* as are not yet reconciled to some Proceedings that have follow'd the UNION. The *Scots* are but transplanted *Irish*, and most of the * illustrious and noble Families of *Scotland* draw their Origin from the ancient Royal Blood of *Ireland*.

Among the *Protestants* of *Ireland*, I believe we may reckon very near a fifth Part of them to be Converts since the *Revolution*, and consequently not to be much depended upon, in case of an Invasion, especially as long as the Trade of *Ireland* lies under so great a Restraint. But, Sir, to shorten the Argument, I will suppose all the *Irish Protestants* to be faithfully attach'd to the present Government; but though this should be Fact, they would still be no Match for the *Irish Roman Catholicks*, when assisted and disciplined

* Among others, the Family of Campbel are descended in a direct Ma'e Line from Maccon, supreme Monarch of *Ireland*, who began his Reign in the Year of our Lord 249.

plined by their Countrymen now abroad, and reinforced by an Army of *French* and *Spaniards*; Nay, they would hardly be a Breakfast for them. The Case would be found widely different from what it was in the Rebellion of 1641 for then, Sir, the *Irish Roman Catholicks* fought with greater Animosity against one another than against the *Protestants* themselves. According to their old Custom, they were divided into three or four Factions; *Morogh O Brien*, Earl of *Inchiquin*, commanded an Army of them in a contrary Interest; the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was created a Duke after the Restoration, commanded another Army of them implicitly for the King; the *Supreme Council* of the *Confederate Catholicks of Ireland* had also their Army; and *Owen Roe O Neil* had likewise his in the North. All these Armies were so far from being in one and the same Interest, that wherever they met they did the Work of *England*, and drubb'd one another very heartily; but at that Time they had great Lords to divide them, as I have already observed: A Disadvantage which they don't labour under at present. Besides, Sir, they wanted experienced Officers and Generals to command them, because there was not then any Body of *Irish* in foreign Service, to learn the Art of War, and teach it to their Countrymen. *O. Neil*, indeed, had been bred in the *Spanish* Service, and was a great General; but then, Sir, he was the only one they had, and did the *English* infinitely more Service, by the Relief of *Londonderry*, when besieged by the *Scots*, than he ever did to his Countrymen;

Countrymen; because he set up upon an Interest very different from the View of the *Confederate Roman Catholicks of Ireland*, who never intended to withdraw their Allegiance from their King, but to defend themselves from the *Rebel Parliament of England*, when his Majesty was in no Condition to protect them from the Destruction with which they were threaten'd. This is a brief, but true State of their Case; and since I have digress'd a little from my Subject, permit me to go a Step or two farther in Regard to *Corfica*. The *Corficans* took up Arms to free themselves from the Tyranny and Oppression of the *Genoese*; the Attempt was virtuous and laudable; it was highly becoming Men of Courage, Nature dictat'd it, and it ought to meet with the Approbation of every Man of Honour, every Lover of Liberty. But notwithstanding all their Bravery, do you think, Sir, that they could have defended themselves near so long and so gloriously as they have done, had it not been for their Countrymen in Service abroad, who, as Opportunity permitted them, crowded home to the Rescue of their injured and oppressed Country? No, Sir, they could not; and the Case of the *Corficans* is as strong an Argument as any I have produced, either in this or any of my former Letters to you, for your demanding the immediate Disbandment of the *Irish* Regiments in the Service of *France* and *Spain*. But to return from this Digression.

After all the Arguments I have used to shew the Danger we have to apprehend from *Ireland*, should *France* or *Spain* bend their Thoughts that
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Way, it may, perhaps, be pretended that we are in no Danger at all from thence; this, I say, may be pretended by those Gentlemen who would have us employ all our Care and Patriotism on the dirty unpav'd Streets of *Westminster*, and are induced with the Faculty of arguing Point-blank to Day against what they strenuously asserted Yesterday. They will very probably tell us that our Fleets are more than sufficient to prevent any Invasion whatever, and hinder any Forces from landing either in *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*; but if this Argument is good here, why was it not valid when the Emperor was loudly demanding the Performance of our Treaties, and our Assistance to save him from becoming a Sacrifice to the Ambition of the *House of Bourbon*, in one of the most unjust Wars that ever was undertaken against any Prince? Why was it not valid, when we were involving the Nation in a new Debt, by additional Forces to PREVENT a SURPRISE from Powers, to the Progress of whose but too successful Arms we were not then giving the least Opposition? Why was it not valid when the whole Nation without Doors was in one universal Cry for a War against *Spain*, for vindicating the Honour of Britain, for revenging the Insults she had received, and for procuring ample Satisfaction for the Depredations and Robberies committed on her Merchants by the Spaniards? However, Sir, I confess that our Fleets can perform Wonders, when well employ'd, either in defending our Coasts, or in chastising a haughty depredating Enemy, or an intriguing encroaching false Neighbour; but Fleets that
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are *always upon the defensive*, never can defend a Country any long Time; the Wind that brings on the Enemy keeps those Fleets in their Ports, which King *James* the Second found to his Cost. The true Way, then, to preserve our Coasts, is to go and seek our Enemies, for that will hinder them to come and seek for us; and had King *James* taken this Method, his Fleet would not have been tied Neck and Heels by the same Wind that triumphantly waisted the Prince of *Orange* and the welcome *Dutchmen* to the *English* Shore.

But, Sir, lay what Strefs you please upon our Fleets, let them be never so invincible, when they are permitted to look for our Enemies, let them be as great Security to us as Uncertainties can possibly admit of, should we be the worse for having still a greater and better Security? King *William's* Expedition to *England* has demonstrated beyond Contradiction, that certain Winds may make our Fleets of no Use; would it then be amiss to make an effectual *Provision* for baffling the Attempts of any *Invaders* whatever, should even our Fleets at any Time fail us, and these *Invaders* succeed so far as to land? If you ask me, in what that *Provision* consists, I'll tell you, Sir, It consists in your proper Measures for REGAINING the HEARTS of the People of *England*, in GIVING all the ENCOURAGEMENT to the Trade and Objects of Commerce for *Scotland*, which they still greatly want, and which they highly deserve, and in taking *IRELAND* into an UNION. An Union with *Ireland*, and a due, a sincere Encouragement given to *Scotland*,

land, would effectually recover *England* from her present languishing and almost desperate Condition; and not only so, but very soon make us the most flourishing Nation in *Europe*, and the *British Empire* the most powerful Universe. This, Sir, is therefore my humble Advice to you, it comes from a friendly, a sincere Heart; and I will venture to pronounce it to be the very best you ever received in your Life. But as I know it will put the *French* and *Spanish* Factions here all in a Flame, and, perhaps give Umbrage to the *Woollen Manufacturers*, and several other Men who well mean to their Country, but who, for Want of thoroughly scanning the Matter, impolitickly think that *every Advantage* to *Ireland* would be a *real Detriment* to *England*, I shall make the UNION I have proposed, and the Consequences that would attend it, the principal Subjects of my next.

I have the Honour to be, with most profound Respect and Attachment,

S I R,

Your most humble

Most obedient

Most devoted Servant,

Gray's-Inn,
April 10, 1739.

CALEB D'ANVERS.

LETTER



LETTER VI.

S I R,



AM most humbly of Opinion, that my last Letter to you has sufficiently demonstrated the Dangers to be apprehended from an *Invasion* of *Ireland*; and likewise shewn that the *taking* that Kingdom into the UNION would be the most politick and effectual Method to traverse all such Designs as *France* and *Spain* are now hatching against us.

That the *Bourbon* Ministers have these several Years been laying Schemes for the Ruin of *England*, is what very few Men in the Nation can now possibly doubt of; nay, Sir, I dare lay my Life upon the Issue, that you don't doubt of it yourself. But still I am sensible, that even the Mention of an *Union* with *Ireland*, may sound harsh in the Ears of some *Englishmen*, who, from the Prejudices of a very wrong Education, and the Artifice of Knaves, have been taught to look upon the *Irish* as unworthy of any other Fate, than that of being Slaves to *England*. This, Sir, give me Leave to say, has been one

of the Rocks upon which *England* has been built, by making the proper Advantages of her Folly: I can call it but Folly, because the *Irish* are modest enough to give it no other Appellation.

But however prevalent the Prejudices of Education may be among some People, who look upon the Legends of *Temple*, *Borlace*, and a few other Writers, inspirited with the same malevolent Spirit, to be both orthodox History and Politicks, the Question is not now what we shall do for the *Irish*, but what Necessity calls upon us to do for ourselves? To let *Ireland* remain as it is at present, will, in all human Probability, be attended with most dismal Consequences to *England* within a very few Years; nay, the Fore-runner of the Evils we are to expect from it, are every Day manifesting themselves in the Face of the Sun; and yet we seem almost as stupid and inactive for our own Preservation, as Men that have just received Sentence of Death without any Probability of a Pardon. We know that *France* makes a Hand, and but too beneficial a one, God knows! of our present Conduct and Regard to *Ireland*, and will every Year make a better, until it proves too late for us to attempt, or even so much as think of a Cure for so terrible an Evil with any Probability of Success; but nevertheless we seem to act like Men in a Dilemma, and wait the fatal Moment, as if there was no Probability of avoiding it. What shall we do, say some People; shall we, to avoid the Encroachments of *France*, throw our Trade into the Hands of the *Irish*, which would be the undoubted

ed Consequence of an UNION with *Ireland*? This, Sir, is the popular Objection, and I confess it carries a very plausible Front; but I will likewise venture to say, that it is not made by any one Man who thorowly understands the true Interest of *England*, and is not at the same Time, either privately to that of *France*, or sway'd by the Consideration of his own private Profit in the particular Branch of Trade which he follows: But such Men are not to be reason'd with; should I even grant them their Argument, they would not be the less in the Wrong; for it is as demonstrable as any Proposition in *Euclid*, that it would be infinitely more eligible *to throw even ALL our Trade into the Hands of the Irish, than let the French engross it away from us.* Should the *French* get the entire Possession of all our great Branches of Trade, for which they spare neither Pains, nor Industry, nor Artifice, what would be the Consequence? Would not the Wealth by pouring in upon them, by the Increase of their Trade and Destruction of ours, be employ'd in either reducing us to a Province to *France*, or in making us Tools in all dirty and Treaty-work, or else in forcing a Pretender upon us at their own Terms? This, Sir, would be the Consequence of letting the *French* get our Trade; but quite different would be *that* of allowing the *Irish* an open and free Trade by an *Union*. If, upon an *Union*, the Number of Representatives for the Lords and Commons of *Ireland* should be equal to those of *Scotland*, we should always have residing among us Sixty one Hostages for the Fidelity of the *Irish*, who
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would spend their Fortunes in *England*; most of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry would likewise spend the greatest Part of their Time, and consequently of their Estates here, not only make a Figure at Court, where they might then expect to be more regarded, but also to educate their Children: So that whatever Riches should accrue to *Ireland*, from an open free Trade, which, in the Main, would be but so much kept out of the Clutches of the *French*, the greatest Part of them would at last centre in *England*, whilst the *Irish*, at the same Time, instead of their present wretched Poverty, of which I have sufficiently shewn we have Abundance of Reason to dread the Consequences, would grow warm and happy in their Circumstances, and be equally attached to *England* by Inclination as well as Interest. Can then any *Englishman* that wishes well to his Country, and has not the PRETENDER lurking in the Bosom of his CONDUCT, or at least of his Wishes, hesitate a Moment which to chuse, whether to let the *French* run away with our Trade, or to suffer the *Irish* to make the most of their own Products; when we sent the *Woollen Weavers* of *Ireland* a begging by an Act of Parliament, which if I remember right, passed in King *William's* Time, our *Woollen Manufacturers* here expected Mountains of Profit from that refined Piece of Policy; but a little Time demonstrated that they reckon'd without their Host. Several of the *Irish Manufacturers* were forced Abroad to seek for Bread, and were sure to be much better received among Foreigners, than among their Fellow Subjects in *England*. The *Irish*

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Wool soon found the Way after them; and by that Act of Parliament *France* has GAINED more Millions Sterling than would PAY all our publick Debts. She also victualled her Fleets with the Provisions of *Ireland*, whenever she wanted to attack us at Sea; and with *Irish* Provisions she has ever since supported and maintained her Sugar Colonies, which must otherwise have starved; nay, supported and increased them to such a Degree, that they have not only eclipsed, but almost ruin'd ours: While we, at the same Time were such mighty Politicians, that we would not suffer the *Irish* to trade to our own Sugar Colonies with Provisions but under the wise Restriction of being obliged, at their Return, to enter their Ships and Cargo into some Port of *England*, before they could break Bulk, or dispose of the least Part of it in *Ireland*. So that when an *Irish* Ship came home from any Sugar Islands, or Plantations, she was obliged to put to Sea again, and come and enter into some Custom-House or other in *England*; by Means more Ships have been lost than in their Voyages to and from the *West-Indies*; besides the additional Expence those that escaped were put to. The Phrase as I remember, was then with some People, and I believe may be the same still, *Ireland must be kept under, otherwise she will grow to Rich for England*; but the Beetles in Politicks, who contrived that hopeful Act, could not, or at least would not see that, in the Nature of Things, we cannot keep *Ireland* under without aggrandizing *France*. The *Irish* soon felt their Losses, they were sensible of the Hardships they labour'd under

under, by being obliged to send their Ships to *England* after their Return from *America*, and therefore sold their Provisions to the *French* as the most gainful and least hazardous Way; the immediate Effects of which was, the *French* Colonies began to flourish, and had Provision in greater Plenty, and much cheaper than ours.

Now, Sir, to be ascertained of the Truth of all that I have said, let a *Publick Examination* be made into the present Condition of our Sugar Colonies, and let it be as publickly compared with that of the *French* Colonies: But I believe you may rather take my Word in this Point, than be at the Trouble of disproving me. Call likewise for the Books of the *Smyrna* Company, consult also our *Spanish* Merchants, and then you will be convinced of the infinitely more than *Guarda Costa Depredations* committed on our own *Woollen Trade*, by our Acts of Parliament against the *Woollen Manufacturers of Ireland*. The Mischiefs we have already shewn by these impolitick Acts, are farther visible in the distressed Condition of vast Number of Weavers, and other People bred up in the *Woollen* Business, who are now perishing for Want of Employment; these Mischiefs are daily encreasing, but the greatest Mischief of all is, that the *French Woollen Manufacturers* and Merchants flourish and grow rich by our Oversight, or something worse, while those of *Great-Britain* are proportionably sinking into Poverty and Want.

You have I suppose, Sir, heard the Language which one of the Ministers of *France* lately made Use of to the *Dutch* upon the Subject of Trade:

Trade. It is so remarkable that, in my humble Opinion, there is not a Man in *England*, but ought to have it hung up in Writing or Print in every Room of his House; nay, it ought to be hung up in our *Churches* and *Play-Houses*, at the Corner of every Street in this *Metropolis*, and in all the Places of publick Resort in this Kingdom, that the People, whether at their Devotion or Diversions, whether upon Business, or at their Meals, might ever have before their Eyes, so illustrious a Monument of the Gratitude, Friendship and good Intentions of *France* to us, after all the Services we have render'd here these twenty seven Years past, particularly in saving her from Destruction by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

The Words made Use of by Monsieur *Orri* Comptroller General of the Finances (that is to say Lord Treasurer) of *France*, to Minheer *Van-Hoey* the *Dutch* Embassador at *Paris* were as follow——“ That as there was so great Commerce
 “ carried on between *France* and *Holland*, and
 “ such a vast Quantity of *foreign* (*English*)
 “ STUFFS carried into and sold within the Domi-
 “ nions of the Republick, it appeared surpris-
 “ zing to his Majesty (the *French* King) that
 “ STUFFS of the *Woollen Manufacture* of his
 “ Kingdom should in some Sort be prohibited
 “ by the *Dutch*, whilst, at the same Time,
 “ they received a prodigious Quantity of all Sorts
 “ of STUFFS from ANOTHER NATION (mean-
 “ ing *ENGLAND*) which were not only worse
 “ in Quality, but DEARER than those made in
 “ *France*. Mr. *Orry*, the Comptroller, likewise
 “ touched upon the Article of Linnen Cloth.

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“ He said upon this Subject, that tho’ the Inte-
 “ rest of the King’s Subjects demanded that *Hol-*
 “ *land* should be comprehended in the Prohibi-
 “ tion made to Linnens coming from *foreign*
 “ *Countries*(into *France*) his Majesty has hither-
 “ to been pleased to continue the Permission of
 “ bringing them into *France*; *he therefore very*
 “ *much desired that* (Woollen) CLOTHS and
 “ STUFFS made at Lisle and in French Flanders
 “ might for the future be permitted and brought
 “ into the united Provinces.

Now, Sir, is not this a most worthy Ha-
 rangue? Ought it not to rouse your Indignation,
 and fill your Soul, if it is *English*, with Resent-
 ments suitable to the Ingratitude and Dishonesty
 with which you here see your Country attack’d?
France not content with stealing away every
 Day prodigious Quantities of our Wool, la-
 bours to the utmost of her Power, to prevent
 us from vending such Manufactures as we
 make of the Part which she cannot deprive us
 of, and to this End endeavours to throw us
 us out of one of the best Markets we have left.
 The *French* Ministers, forsooth, are surpriz’d,
 that the *Dutch* take our STUFFS; nay, Sir, they
 seem very angry with them for doing so, and in-
 directly threaten them with a total Prohibition
 of their Hollands, if they don’t for the future
 refuse our STUFFS and BROAD CLOTHS and take
 THOSE of Lisle and French Flanders, which Mr.
 Orri says are better in Quality and Cheaper in
 Price than ours. — This is his Meaning, or he
 means nothing. But, Sir, ought not You, ought
 not all *Britain*, to be the more surpriz’d to hear

a *Frenchman* talk at this Rate, and boast the Excellency and Cheapness of the *Woollen Manufactures* of *France* over those of *England*; when it is evident that *France* could have no *Woollen Manufactures* for any Market on the Globe, were it not for the WOOL she STEALS from *Great Britain* or *Ireland*? Good God! — must we suffer this any longer — What *Briton* can keep within Bounds of Patience, or even common Decorum, when he sees his Country so openly injur'd, so impudently insulted and attack'd by Thieves on one Side, and Pyrates on the other! Sir, if these Words give you any Offence let your Anger be directed against THOSE MEN, who are leaving no STONE unturn'd to destroy our Trade, as the shortest Method to destroy the *Protestant Succession* and deprive us of our Liberty. I call every Man abroad a Thief that buys up our *Wool* because he knows it to be stolen Goods; if it is not stole from the Kingdom in general, and he that buy it encourages the Theft: He is therefore a Thief himself. I will call every Man a Pirate that either robs our Merchants at Sea in Time of Peace, or presumes to insult or *search* our Ships on the high Seas, whatever foreign Commission he may have for doing so.

And now, Sir, as the Word SEARCH has natural fallen in my Way, I most humbly beg Leave to ask you a Question. I shall always look upon the Prerogative of the Crown to be as sacred as the Liberty and Property of the People, and would therefore be glad to know whether his Majesty's Prerogative extends so far as, *without an express Act of Parliament for the*

Purpose, to grant the King of *Spain* a Power by Treaty to search our Ships when they are not in his Ports? A SEARCH not only exposes the Liberty of the Captains and Seamen to the Cruelty of Foreigners, but also endangers the Property of the Owners of the Ship and Cargo to satisfy their Avarice; for, Sir, I beg Leave to tell you that the great Itch the *Spaniards* have to search our Ships, shews also that they have altogether as great Itch to seize and plunder them, for which an Excuse will never be wanting, let the Scene of the Robbery be within a hundred Leagues or a Cable's Length of the Shore, when the Jobb is to be done, and the *Spaniards* are crowding into a Ship, it is but dropping a Bag of Piasters in a private Place for to be found again in rummaging, and then a Prize! A Prize! is the Word. If then, Sir, his Majesty's Prerogative extends so far as to grant a Power to Foreigners that may prove so destructive not only to the Properties, but to the Liberty and even the Lives of his Subjects, I have nothing more at present to say upon this Article; but if it does not, and if the same Liberty and Property is attached to a *Briton*, wherever he is venturing his Life and Fortune to encrease the national Stock of *Great Britain*, I would advise *Don Keene* and *Don Castres*, to consult their Courage before they sign any Treaty with *Spain*, that includes a Search of Ships when out of Port, upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever, and further ask themselves how they wou'd like a Jigg at T——, to the Tune of old H——ns and St——ld.

But it is Time to return to Mr. *Orri*'s famous Hotch-

Hotchpotch of a Speech to Mr. *Van Hoey* —
 That crafty Archer shoots with two Strings to his
 Bow, and poisons his Arrows: He not only en-
 deavours to shoot us out of our Market in *Hol-*
land, but to scatter first a Coolness, and then an
 open Variance between us and the *Dutch*. Be-
 hold the blessed Effect of our Conduct to *Ireland*!
 This, Sir is a Specimen of the Favours we are
 to expect from the *French* when we let them seize
 the *Remainder* of our Trade, for Fear the *Irish*
 should enjoy the common Right of all Mankind,
 which is that of trading with the Product and
 Manufactures of their own Country; and which
 I shall further prove in my next Letter would be
 not only an Advantage to the Trade of *England*
 itself, but break that Net in which *France* thinks
 she has now entangled us.

Please in the mean Time to approve my En-
 deavours, and also to accept with most profound
 Respect and Attachment, with which I have the
 Honour to be,

S I R,

Your most humble

Most obedient

Most devoted Servant,

*Gray's Inn,
 April 17, 1739.*

CALEB D'ANVERS.

LETTER



LETTER VII.

S I R,



T has been observed by a Crowd of Writers of all Ages and Nations, that there is no Undertaking so difficult, not any one Thing so dangerous, as to attempt to save our Country when the Men at the Helm have an Interest in its Destruction, either for their own personal Safety, which they think cannot be establish'd by any other Means, or with the View of appropriating the greatest Part of the publick Spoils to their own private Emolument: For when such Men are in Power the more a private Person exerts himself for the Service of the Publick, (which by the Bye, Sir, you know to be his Duty) the more he traverses their Schemes, the more open he thereby lays himself to ministerial Resentments, and the greater Butt he becomes of all the Misfortunes attending them. This, Sir, is a Truth which I believe will hardly be controverted with me; and therefore, as I have not hitherto received any Interruption from the Gentlemen of thy
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Daily Gazetteer, since I began this Sort of Correspondence with you, nor any Molestation or disagreeable Visit from the other much more formidable Gentlemen call'd Messengers of State, tho' this is my Seventh Letter, I flatter myself that in Spight of all the Calumny with which you have been very unjustly and cruelly loaded, you have not only Bowels, but very tender ones too for your Country, and are seriously inclined to serve her if the proper Means for so doing are laid before you. With this Opinion of your Honesty and good Sense I writ my first Letter to you, with the same Opinion I have continued writing ever since, and resolve to continue doing so, until I see what I have had the Honour to propose to you, either fairly and honestly put in Execution, or publicly demonstrated to be absurd or impracticable.

In my last Paper I laid down and defended a Principle that it would be infinitely more eligible in us *to throw even ALL our Trade into the Hands of the Irish, than to let the French engross it away from Us.* This I say still, and think I can defend it against any Man living; but I am, nevertheless, very far from believing that we should throw, either ALL our Trade or *any Part of it* into the Hands of the *Irish* by allowing them to make the most of their own Products in the same Manner that we make the *most* of ours: No, Sir, common Observation tells me just the contrary, and I can even produce the Authority of the M---l Writers themselves to support my Opinion.

It is not many Weeks since we were told in a very publick Manner, by the Advocates for the
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Convention, that the *French* have TWO THIRDS, or ONE HALF at least, of all the Treasure that comes from the *Spanish West-Indies*; this a Fact which neither you, nor I, nor any Man in *Britain* doubts of; but how comes this to be Fact, How comes it pass that the *French*, with very few Objects of their own Product for a *Spanish* Market, have now a greater Share in the Wealth coming from the *Spanish West-Indies*, than even *Spain* itself and all the other Nations of *Europe* put together? This is a very necessary Question, because the Solution of it will naturally lead Us, I mean, Sir, provided we have your *Permission* and *Assistance*, to the Cure of an *Evil* which will otherwise destroy us. It was the *Wool* of *Ireland*, manufactured in *France*, that put the *French* into the Way to outstrip us in our *Spanish* Trade, especially that Part of it relating to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and that has since procured them the largest Share in the *Galleons*, *Flotilla*, *Assogues Ships*. Fatal Consequences of our *Acts of Parliament* against the *Woollen Manufacturers of Ireland*! let me therefore intreat your Patience to hear a short Anecdote.

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In the Year 1719, Mr. LAW, who began to extend his Projects for the Interest of *France*, in Proportion as he grew in Power and Reputation there, sent over to *London* for Patterns of all the Goods, wherein any *Wool* was made Use of, with which our *South-Sea Company* traded to the *Spanish America*; he likewise sent one *Pagett* to engage a great Number of *Woollen Manufacturers* here; and at the same Time gave Commissions to several *Irish* Merchants in *France* to get all the

the *Wool* they possibly could from *Ireland*. All this I can then assure you to be Fact; I was then in *France*, I knew the Merchants that had Commission given them; I likewise knew *Pagett*, all his Letters to Mr. *Law*, and several of his Bills of Disbursements and Expences fell into my Hands, as did also the above-mention'd Pattern of Goods, which, after Mr. *Law* left *France*, I shew'd to his late Majesty's Embassador at *Paris*. Mr. *Law* was likewise about contracting for all the Wool of *Spain*, but a very few Days before he fell; and this too I can assure you to be Fact, because I was present in two Conversations he had upon the Subject with Persons proper to be commissioned in the Affair. Now, Sir, the Design of all this, which you may take upon my Word, was entirely to destroy our *Spanish* and *South-Sea Trade*; and tho' the Author of the Project was forced to give Way to Fate, this very Design has been pursued ever since in various Shapes, and with but too much Success, as we find to our Costs; witness the *one Half* at least which the M——l Writers themselves say the *French* have in all the Wealth coming from the *Spanish West-Indies*.

Here, Sir, a Remark very naturally occurs, which was made by the Author of the *Golden Fleece*, and other Gentlemen who have lately writ against WOOL-RUNNING, viz. That one Pack of *Irish Wool* works up two Packs of *French*, which otherwise would not be worth a Farthing for any foreign Market. This being certain, it is plain that if the *Irish* were permitted, by an UNION, to work up all the Wool themselves,

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which they now sell to the *French*, and carry it directly manufactured to any foreign Market, that did not interfere with the Rights of our great Companies, *they could do but one third Part of the Damage to the Trade of Great-Britain, which we now suffer by their Wool going raw to France.* But, Sir, why do I talk at all of Damage? It is evident, that the *Irish*, by such a Permission, would regain *one Third*, and we the other *two thirds* of the Trade which the *French* have encroach'd away from us, by our Infatuation in so long suffering them to manufacture the *Irish Wool*. As for Example, Sir, let us suppose that the *French* get every Year but 30,000 Packs of *Irish Wool*, and even pay so extraordinary a Price for it as Eight Pounds a Pack one with another; this Wool they work up with 60,000 Packs of their own coarse Wool, at about the Value of Fifty Shillings of our Money per Pack, so that the prime Cost of the whole 90,000 Packs is 920,000 *l. Sterling* in Appearance; but Sir, we must deduct out of this Sum at least 30 *per Cent*, which the *French* make on the Goods and Merchandizes of their own Country, with which they purchase the *Wool of Ireland*; this Deduction will amount to 72,000 *l.* for the 50,000 Packs of *Irish Wool* above-mention'd, which is all clear Gain to *France*, and reduce the prime Cost of the 90,000 Packs of *Irish* and *French* Wool to be worked up together, to 318000 *l. Sterling*. Now, Sir, is it possible, for the *Wool-len Manufacturers* of *Great-Britain*, to purchase 90,000 Packs of *Irish Wool* any thing near so cheap? if they cannot, is there any hu-
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man Appearance, or the least Probability under the Sun, that, crush'd down such prodigious Disadvantages, they cannot support our *Woollen Trade*, and stand their Ground against the Encroachments of the *French*, but by keeping the *Irish Wool* from going to *France*? And, Sir, is it possible for us to keep the *Irish Wool* at home by any Means but what I have proposed? If it is, why has it not been done in *Eighteen Years* of YOUR *Administration*?

But, Sir, to wash you as white as Snow in this Point, I assert that it is not possible to keep the *Irish Wool* at home by any other Means than an Union with *Ireland*; for the Address and Dexterity of the *French*, join'd to the Distress and Resentment of the *Irish*, will always be too hard for all the Laws we can make, if they carry Severity, Partiality, or Injustice in them; or at least if the *Irish* view them in such a Light.

Thus nothing, Sir, but a *free Trade* for *Ireland*, UNDER such certain REGULATIONS as the *Irish* themselves will gladly consent to, can preserve the Trade of *Great-Britain* from the voracious Jaws of *France*; and why then any Man in *England* should then be against such a Piece of natural Justice to the *Irish*, when it would be attended with such visible and such immediate Advantages to *Britain*, and without which, *England* must inevitably be lost in a very few Years, is what would be impossible to account for, were not *Corruption* and private Villany arriv'd to that amazing Height, in which we now behold it, in this once generous, great and publick-spirited Nation,

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From what has been said, it is a plain Demonstration, that the keeping the *Irish Wool* from the *French* would be a vast Advantage to our *South Sea* and *Levant Companies*; the keeping the *Irish Provisions* from *France* would be likewise of vast Service to our *East India Companies* and *Sugar Colonies*; but that the allowing the *Irish Nation* the Benefit of their own Products, the inseperable Badge of Freedom would be prejudicial to any of the Parties have just mention'd, is what never can be advanced but by —

As then our great trading COMPANIES could not possibly receive any Prejudice from an Union with *Ireland*, of which I hope to see you the glorious Instrument, but, on the contrary, would be highly benefitted by it; as our *Woollen Manufacturers* would likewise have much more Business than at present, because the *French* would then be KICKT out of all those Markets abroad, of which they have now got Possession, by our own Faults much more than their Address, I would very gladly be inform'd, Sir, what Part of the Trade of *Great-Britain* would suffer by allowing a free Trade to *Ireland*. The Demand for our Corn, Coals, Tin, Lead, Leather, Hard-Ware, Mathematical Instruments, Clocks, Watches &c. would it be any Ways less'n'd, or would it not rather be increased? Would our *Newfoundland Fishery* suffer by it? He that thinks it would, deserves a Cap and Bells.

But, Sir, I shall not enter into any further Detail at this Time, because I hear, and I humbly assure you it is with small Concern, that you are

are not able to read or attend to a Lecture of a long Epistle at present: But I hope with all my Soul, that a speedy Re-establishment of your Health will give a fresh Opportunity of laying not only the rest of this Argument for an *Union* with *Ireland* before you, but also the other Measures to be taken for recovering the old Grand Alliance out of the Talons of *France*; for securing *Russia* in our Interest; and for restoring the House of *Austria* to that INDEPENDANT Lustre and Power from which it has of late most unfortunately fallen: All which seem to me to be absolutely necessary to be perform'd, or at least undertaken, by a Minister who would wisely avoid the Suspicion of taking Ways and Means, for bringing about another REVOLUTION in *Britain*.

Accept the Repetition of my Wishes for your Recovery, and believe that no Man upon Earth can be more *honourably*, or with greater Respect attach'd to you, than is,

S I R,

Your most humble

Most obedient

Most devoted Servant,

Gray's Inn,
April 24, 1739.

CALEB D'ANVERS.

F I N I S.



